

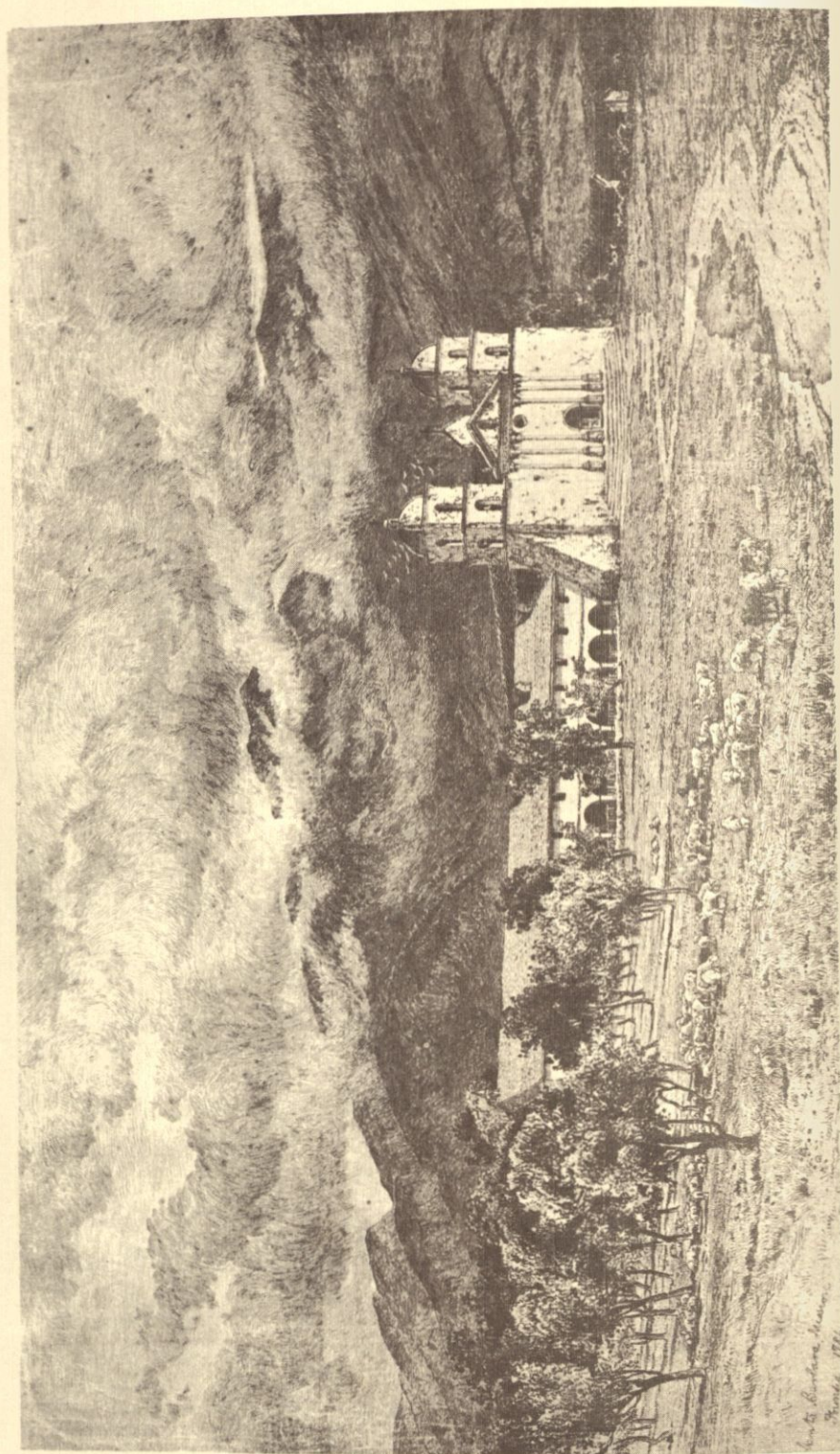
SPAULDING — A BRIEF STORY OF SANTA BARBARA

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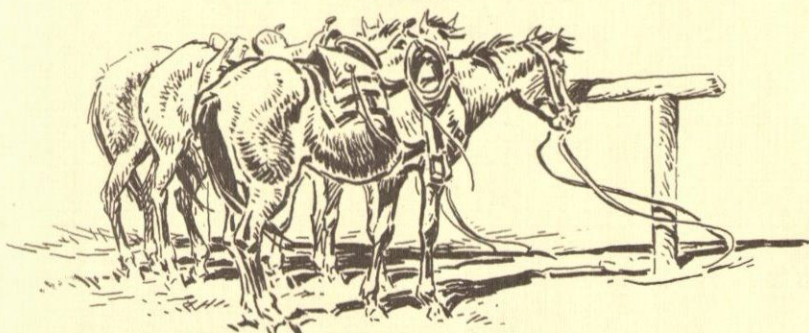
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A BRIEF
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A BRIEF
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EDWARD SELDEN SPAULDING

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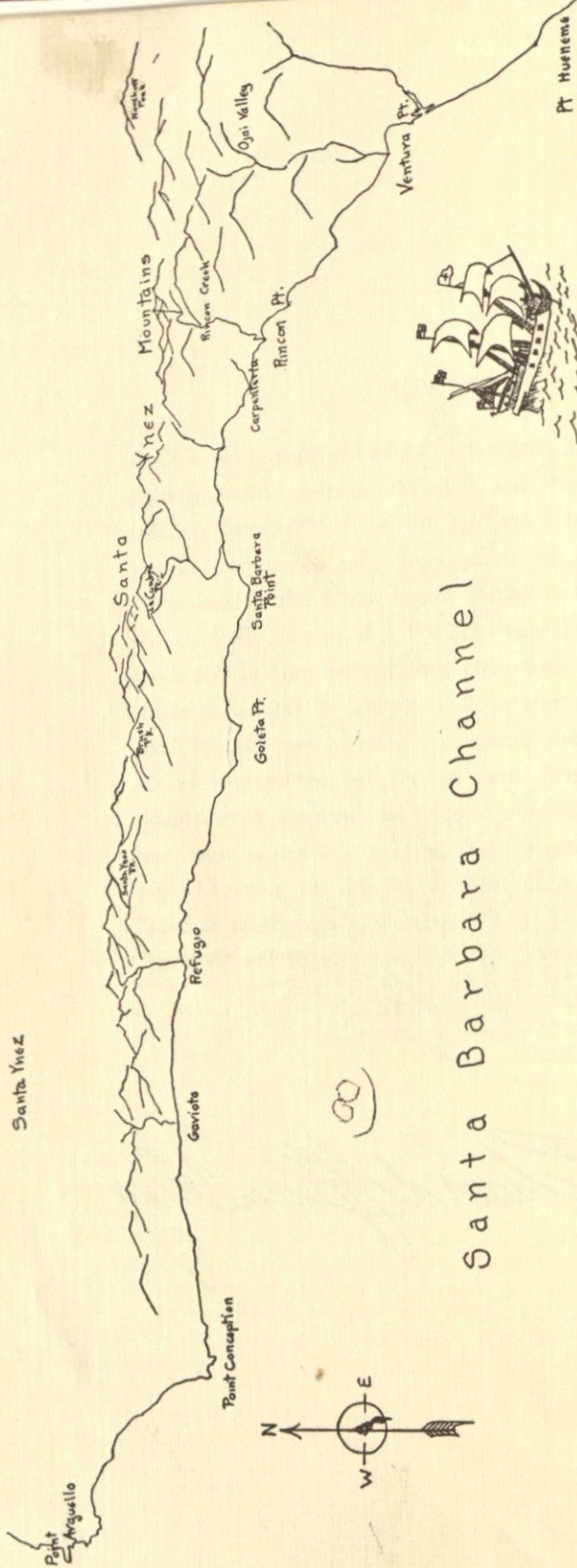
To HILMAR KOEFOD
President
Santa Barbara Historical Society
1964



FOREWORD

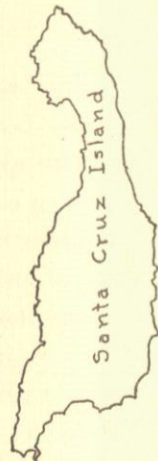
This brief and simple story of the beginnings of the Santa Barbara Community has been put together from materials that have appeared from time to time in "Noticias" and that have been used in the several discussions of our local history held under the joint sponsorship of the Adult Education Department and the Historical Society. It is not offered as the complete story, or even as a considerable part of that story. It is more in the nature of an outline of interesting events that have taken place through the years in our Channel Area. The monies obtained from its sale are to be used by the Society for the publication of other and, perhaps, more valuable material as it becomes available to us in future years, just as are the monies obtained from the sale of Frances Cooper Kroll's "Memories of Rancho Santa Rosa and Santa Barbara" and Harold Chase's "Hope Ranch" to be used. The "Noticias" format has been used throughout the book.

Charles Paulding



Santa Barbara Channel

Richardson
Rack



Anacapa Is.

Santa Barbara Island

A BRIEF STORY OF SANTA BARBARA

CHAPTER ONE

Four centuries ago, when the first Spaniards came by sea as explorers into this region, the land that we now call Santa Barbara looked very much as it does today. The brush-covered¹ mountains rose above the foothills just as they have done for many centuries and with the same skyline. The waves of the ocean rolled in and broke upon the sandy shore just as they do now. In winter, the storms blew in from the sea and brought life-sustaining rain to the plants and animals; and, in the summer, the sun shone bright and warm in the blue, windless sky. Only the land between the beach and the lower reaches of the mountains is different in appearance, for, in those far away days, it was a grass-covered, almost treeless plain that rose gradually from the sand of the beach to the bare tops of the foothills. Viewed from the deck of the Spanish ship as it sailed up the Channel, Santa Barbara seemed to the sailors to be a land much like their native Spain.

In all the larger canyons, streams of clear, sweet water ran the year around from the mountains to the small lagoons, often of brackish water, that were a common feature of the beaches; and many broad-leaved trees, alders, willows, sycamores, and live oaks, grew to great size there. Along the crest of the mountains, on the highest peaks, a few, small pines may have appeared against the blue of the sky. On the rolling foothills and in the canyons, there were animals of many kinds, deer, coyotes, foxes, squirrels, rabbits, and many others; and along the beaches and on the rocks that were covered by the sea at high tide there were many shellfish, clams, mussels, abalones, rock oysters, and other, somewhat similar forms.

There were many birds of many kinds and many sizes. Pelicans, gulls, and cormorants flew over the sea. Waders of many kinds fed and ran on the sand and rocks of the shore. Ducks and geese and cranes came to the marshes and coastal sloughs during the periods of their annual migrations. Doves, pigeons, quail, and a countless host of perching birds moved about in the foothill region; and great condors lived in the recesses of the higher mountains.

For the most part, when not afflicted with drought, it was a favorable land for all the creatures that had accustomed themselves to the wet winters and springs and the long, warm, sunny, dry days of summer and fall. To the Indians then, as to the Americans now, it was a very pleasant land in which to dwell; and these primitive people lived their simple, uncomplicated lives in it almost wholly out-of-doors, very much as the other creatures lived their lives out-of-doors.

The homes of these Indians were hive-shaped structures made of tules (toó-lees) placed on light frames made of tree branches. The Indians' cloth-

ing was of the scantiest kind and of the most primitive design. The bulk of their food was composed of acorns and the seeds of grasses and herbs that were native to the region and that could be gathered in large quantities and stored in expertly made baskets. Rabbits, squirrels, rats, and any other small creatures that could be captured, even the bodies of whales washed up on the sand, were eaten with relish. Those who lived in communities² near or on the shore ate immense quantities of shellfish, especially clams, and the fish that they were able to take from the sea while out in their boats.

→ In the making of these fast, sea-worthy boats the Indians were very skillful. The bottom of each boat was a plank, pointed at each end, that was cut and shaped with almost infinite care and patience with their stone tools. The sides were other planks made with the same, rough tools. These three planks, after they had been properly shaped, were bound together with fibers and tendons, and the seams were then caulked and made watertight with the asphaltum that was found in great quantities along the beaches. Once completed, one of these boats, or canoes, might hold as many as a dozen, or even 15 paddlers; and in them the Indians often passed back and forth between the mainland and the islands that lay to the south across the Channel. Due to the sea-worthiness of these boats, there was more or less constant communication between the rancherias of the Islands and those of the Mainland.

The form of government of the Indians was more nearly like that of a flock of quail than it was like the present government of the City of Santa Barbara. There was no elected city council and mayor to make the laws, neither were there policemen in uniform whose duty it was to see that the laws of the village were obeyed. Actually, there were no laws as we of today know them. There were only customs of long standing that were obeyed or not as the individual Indian chose to do so. The leaders, whom we today think of as "chiefs", were those men whose intelligence and energy and courage had won the respect of their fellows. Though they lived in communities and rancherias and were bound in some degree by the customs of the villages, each man did very much what he wanted to do at any given time. If a man wished to fish, for example, usually he managed to interest two or three others in fishing; and then this little group went out through the surf in a boat and fished as long as they cared to do so. If a man wished to lie in the shade under an oak tree, he stretched himself on the ground there and dozed idly. If one wished to build a new house for himself and his family, he chose a site that pleased him and set to work on the construction. There was no individual ownership of land, or even village ownership, as we have it today; and so each man, or each family, was free to move about or to settle down to more or less permanent residence as his or their inclinations directed them to do. In all this the Indians were much like the quail.

→ Like the quail, also, they were a friendly, sociable people. Each one enjoyed the near companionship of his or her friends and comrades; and so they chose to live in villages and rancherias that sometimes contained as many as 100 homes. Occasionally, there were differences of opinion between individuals, as is the case in every society; and, rarely, there arose differences between villages that were serious enough to bring on small conflicts and lasting hatreds. In one such feud of which we have knowledge, in which two rancherias located in the Rincon Area engaged in a conflict, the fighting became so bitter that, in the end, both communities were destroyed. In this particular case, our knowledge of the struggle is so fragmentary that we do



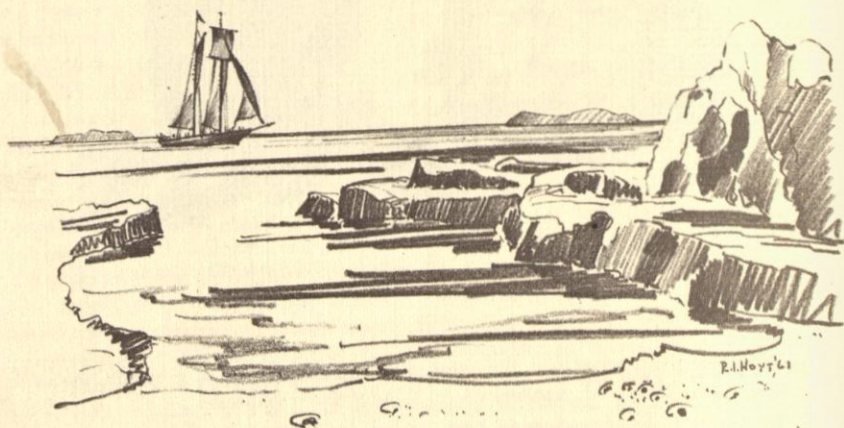
Habitans de la Californie (Watercolor by Choris)

not know certainly whether the fatal result came about in a single, pitched battle, or in a series of ambushes and individual contests.

These rare disagreements that ended in armed conflict between two villages were made the more sharp by the fact that the Indians of the Channel Area did not have a single, common language. There were many languages, or dialects, in use in this small region; and so it was that there were difficulties of communication. Often there were difficulties of communication between villages that were located relatively close together. To overcome in part this considerable barrier, the Indians had developed a sign language to such a point that, through it, they were able to express themselves to one another with reasonable clarity and facility.

Among these people, who seldom travelled more than a few miles from their native rancherias and who were separated village from village by a real language barrier, news travelled over distances so long and with a speed so great that it is difficult to understand how this could have been true. There were no official couriers whose duty it was to carry the news from one area to another. There was, however, a limited amount of trading of articles of all sorts between villages; and so we assume that, along with the traded articles, there went the knowledge of events, even events in far away places.

Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo,³ a Portuguese sailor in the employ of the Spaniards, was in command of a fleet of two small, badly built vessels, the "San Salvador" and the "Victoria", that entered what is now known as "Santa Barbara Channel" in October, 1542. He sailed in search of the mythical "Strait of Anian," a narrow body of water that, at this time, was thought to cut the continent of North America into two parts and, by so doing, to offer a passage to ships from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. Somewhat earlier than this, geographers had held that what is now known as the Gulf of California was a strait that ran far to the northward and met the Strait of Anian, thus making "Californie" a long and narrow island. In 1539, however, the Spanish explorer Ulloa ascended the Gulf of California to its head and, by so doing, established the fact that California was a part of the main-



A schooner off Goleta Point.

land of North America and not an island. The location of the Strait of Anian, however, still remained unknown.

Arriving at what is now known as the City of Ventura, Cabrillo cast anchor and, going ashore, formally took possession of the land in the name of the King of Spain. Here the Indians by signs told him that there were men like himself seven days march inland, and that there was a great river there. It is likely that the Spaniards to whom these Indians referred were members of the Coronado Expedition that had set out from Mexico in 1540 in search of the fabled Seven Cities of Cibola. The river referred to probably was the Colorado River, the lower reaches of which were explored by a party under the leadership of Alarcón. To the Indian rancheria located at Ventura Cabrillo gave the name of Pueblo de Las Canoas because, at this place, so many canoes filled with Indians came out to his ship as it approached the shore.

Leaving the Pueblo de Las Canoas, Cabrillo continued on his course westward up the Channel ⁴ to a magnificent valley (Carpinteria). All along the way, he was met by boats, the paddlers of which sought to barter the small fish that they had caught. The next day found him at a place a mile or two west of the point of land now known as "Goleta Point". Three days later, he reached Point Concepcion, which he named "Cape Galera" because to him, it looked like a ship's galley. During these eleven days, he had seen a great many Indians, and he had been told in the sign language by those who paddled out to his ships much about the country in which the Indians lived, that is, about Santa Barbara. Unfortunately, the Spaniards were not

thoroughly familiar with the sign language used by the natives, and so many of the surmises that were made by them probably were not accurate interpretations of what was intended by the Indians. The boats in which the Indians met Cabrillo, however, were judged correctly by the Spaniards to be very fine indeed. Cabrillo, also, on this passage up the Channel had made out the forms of islands to the south of him; but, as visibility at the time was not good, he thought that the presently named Islands of Santa Cruz, Santa Rosa, and, possibly, San Miguel were one long island only. This long, mountainous island he named "La Isla de San Lucas".

By this time, it was the 18th of October and autumn was turning to early winter. As the Spaniards attempted to sail around Cape Galera and to continue their explorations to the north, they were struck by a strong northwest wind and were driven off shore. In this way they discovered the two westernmost islands of the Channel Group and learned that these two were not parts of a single, long island, as, earlier, they had supposed was the case. To the smaller and the most westerly of the two (San Miguel) Cabrillo gave the name of "La Posesion". In a harbor (Cuyler's) of this small island, which they declared to be a good harbor and one well protected from all the winds, they spent the next week. While here, Cabrillo fell and broke his arm near the shoulder, a most unfortunate accident to suffer at that time and in that place, yet it did not detain him from further exploration. In the end, the injury was to prove fatal to this hardy and courageous mariner.

After several crossings back and forth across the Channel and much searching along the leeward side of the Islands for shelter from the storms that continually harassed them, the Spaniards managed to round Cape Galera and to continue their explorations northward along the coast. Eventually, they reached a place not far from what is now known as the Russian River. The storms continued unabated and the two small vessels became separated. Each thought the other had foundered. In this unhappy situation, both ships turned back and steered for the relatively sheltered water of the Santa Barbara Channel. Arriving at Cuyler's Harbor, they prepared to spend the winter there. While lying in this harbor, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo died of the broken arm that never had healed; and there he was buried.

With the death of Cabrillo, the command of the tiny fleet fell upon the shoulders of the Chief Pilot, a Levantine named Bartolome Ferrello. The sailors immediately changed the name of the island from "La Posesion" to "La Isla de Juan Rodriguez;" but, on the official records, the older name persisted.

In the Diary of the Voyage it is recorded that the Indians that lived on Las Islas de San Lucas, that is, on those of the Channel Islands that had sufficient water to support human life, were very poor. Being fishermen, they ate nothing but fish. They slept on the ground, their houses were large enough to accommodate 50 persons, and they went about unclothed.

Ferrello sailed out of Cuyler's Harbor on Friday, January 19th, 1543, and continued the exploration of the waters to the north and northwest. After many difficulties, the Spaniards, on March 1st, found themselves not far from the mouth of the Rogue River, in present day Oregon. At this point they turned back. On the 5th of March, the San Salvador, again separated from the little frigate, "Victoria", again was off Cuyler's Harbor but could not

enter because of the roughness of the ocean and the boisterousness of the wind. After lying in the shelter of Santa Cruz Island for three days, Ferrelo crossed the Channel to the Pueblo de Las Canoas in the hope of finding the Victoria there. Failing in this, he again sailed to the south and east and, on the 11th, the San Salvador entered San Diego Bay (which six months, or more, earlier, Cabrillo had named "San Miguel"). On Saturday, April 14th, 1543, the San Salvador and the Victoria arrived at the port of Navidad, Mexico, from which they had set sail on June 27th, 1542.

In the entire extent of the Diary of this first cruise by the Spaniards in Southern Californian waters, there is no mention made of the great numbers of sea otters that the officers and crewmen of the two ships must have seen in the kelp beds as they sailed up and down the length of Santa Barbara Channel and in and out of the waterways and harbors of the Channel Islands. As these small fur bearers were to become very important in the economy of Santa Barbara in later years, this omission is the more strange.

In the same year that Cabrillo was commissioned to explore the ocean to the northwest of Mexico in search of the Strait of Anian, another expedition was sent by the Spaniards westward across the Pacific Ocean to the San Lazaro Islands. These islands, so remote from Mexico and from California, were reached after a long voyage and, after formal possession of them had been taken in the King of Spain's name, they were renamed the "Philippine Islands." Almost at once, these islands appeared to the Spaniards to be as rich as California was poor. After they had been subdued, trade with them was established by way of Mexico by means of an annual galleon that sailed from Manila by way of the Japan Current to Cape Mendocino and thence south to Acapulco, and back again to Manila by a much more southerly route. For many years thereafter, Spanish interest in California was small.

Presently, it became impressed on the minds of the King's advisers that a port of call on the upper California coast, perhaps some good harbor just a little south of Cape Mendocino, if a harbor could be found in such a place, was needed not only to give aid to the sailors of the Galleon after their long and dangerous voyage across the Pacific Ocean, but also to serve as a strong point on the Pacific to hold in check the aggressions of the other European nations, especially the depredations of the English and the French, whose ships, sailing through the Strait of Anian, might appear at any moment on the Pacific.

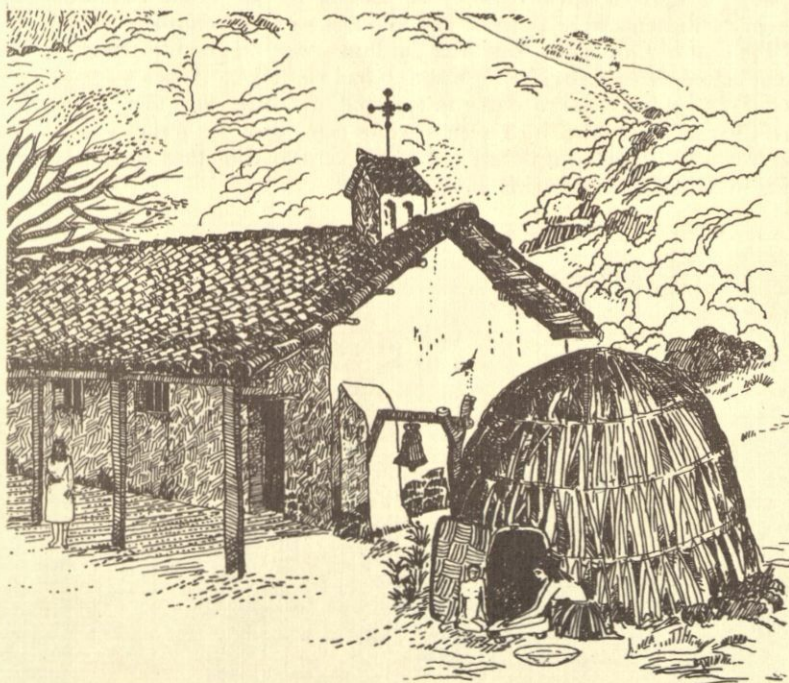
With this end in view, a trader, Sebastian Viscaíno, who was familiar with the growing trade between Mexico and the Orient, and who had been a passenger on the Manila Galleon when it was plundered by the English seaman, Cavandish, in 1588, was commissioned to lead an exploring expedition of three ships along the outer coast of California as far northward as he might be able to force his way. Viscaíno was known to be a merchant rather than a navigator, and so there was much criticism in the Spanish Court of his appointment as leader of this important enterprise.

This small fleet, with Viscaíno as its commander, sailed from Acapulco on January 3rd, 1602. December of the same year found the ships at Santa Catalina Island, the "San Salvador Island" of the Cabrillo Diary. By this time, there was so much illness among the members of the crew that Viscaíno and the other responsible leaders realized that they must press onward with the utmost speed if they were to accomplish the purposes of the exploration. On Monday, December 2nd, 60 years after Cabrillo's ships had sailed out

of it, the ships of Viscaíno entered the Santa Barbara Channel; and at once they encountered many Indians in canoes and on the shore. On the sailors' left were two large islands. The next day, Viscaíno discovered more islands and, as he did not know where he was, he became much alarmed. The next day, he rounded Point Concepcion, though he makes no mention of it in his diary, and continued with as much sail as his ships could carry at this stormy time of year up the coast. On December 13th, he arrived off Monterey Bay and at once sent Ensign Melendez to explore it. On the 16th, the ships of the fleet dropped anchors in the shelter of the Bay. This may have been after early and relatively heavy rains.

In his diary, Viscaíno described Monterey Bay, which he had named for the ruling Viceroy, Gaspar de Zuñiga y Aceveda, Conde de Monterey, in extravagant terms: it was the best port that could be desired, for, in addition to being sheltered from all the winds blowing in from the ocean, pines for masts and spars grew in profusion on the shore; there was an abundance of fresh, sweet water; elk and deer and very large bears were there, as well as many species of large, edible birds, and numberless Indians. The soil was excellent. Obviously, this was the site before all others for the proposed garrison and settlement.

January 12th, 1603, found Viscaíno off Cape Mendocino with every member of his crew sick with scurvy. Some had died of the disease. The



An Indian hut—San Marcos Asistencia.

Diary states that so general was the malady that only two men were able to climb the mast to the mainsail. The next day, the order was given to return to Mexico, which was carried out with all speed.

The Viscaíno Expedition added little to the Spaniards' knowledge of the Channel Area. Viscaíno had renamed a large island immediately to the south "Santa Catalina Island", and he had given the name of "Santa Barbara" to another small island near the entrance of the Channel. Probably this was the easternmost block, or rock, of Anacapa Island. By doing this, he had given a name to the channel that this island helped to bound, and to the presidio that was to be founded beside the Channel many years later. He had been deeply impressed by the excellence of the boats built by the natives that he saw here, and by the intelligence of one of the Indians, an old man, who had come aboard his ship and, in the sign language of the region, had conversed with him.

The discovery and the naming of Monterey Bay was to prove to be his greatest success. His enthusiastic description of the place so impressed his superiors that, from this time forward, it was held in mind as the proper site of the strong point that was planned for the northern area of the California coast. His enthusiasm for Monterey can be accounted for quite easily by the obvious facts that he had come from a much less favored region with dangers and hairbreadth escapes an almost daily occurrence, and he had arrived at Monterey during the winter, or "green season", when the land was at its best.

For the next century and one half after Viscaíno left the region, the Spaniards were to show little or no interest in the Santa Barbara Channel Area. Settlements were planted and missions were established on both shores of the Gulf of California, but Alta California was allowed to remain as it had been before either Cabrillo or Viscaíno had visited it. When General Pórtola and Fray Junipero Serra came to the land, not only was there no Indian in the Channel Area who had seen a white man, but the memory of the early explorers had been completely lost to the natives that then lived in their tule huts in the many rancherias along the coast.



Cabrillo's marker.

CHAPTER TWO

In 1766, more than a century and one-half after Viscaíno had discovered Monterey Bay and almost two centuries and one-quarter after Cabrillo had entered Santa Barbara Channel and had died on San Miguel Island, the decision was made by the Spaniards to make use of the information these two explorers had gained and to this end to occupy Upper, or Alta, California. The plan that was prepared provided for three establishments, one at San Diego Bay, which, after it was founded, would serve as a base for further operations to the north, a second at Monterey, and a third at an as yet undetermined point about half way between San Diego and Monterey. The name of the third establishment was to be "San Buenaventura."

In July, 1767, Fray Junipero Serra started for Loreto, on the peninsula of Lower, or Baja, California, the place that had been designated as the assembly point of the considerable expedition that was to carry out the new policy. Once assembled, the company was to be divided into five parts, each of which was to travel toward Alta California by itself, because it was felt that the hazards of the journey northward would be so great that, should the whole go as a single body, it easily might happen that some difficulty would be encountered of sufficient size to destroy it or, at least, to force it to turn back. In such an eventuality, the whole venture would be a failure. If five separate attempts were made, it seemed likely that at least one or two of them would get through to San Diego and, in the end, to Monterey.

Accordingly, three ships, the San Carlos, the San Antonio, sometimes known as "El Principe", and the small San Joseph, were dispatched at different dates in 1768 for San Diego Bay. Of these, the San Antonio arrived at its destination on April 11th; and the San Carlos at the same place on May 1st. The third ship, the San Joseph, was less fortunate: nothing was heard of it after it sailed from Baja California and so, at last, it was given up for lost.

Of the land expeditions, the first to leave, under the command of Don Fernando de Rivera y Morrado and accompanied by Fray Crespi, arrived at San Diego, after a harrowing trip that lasted 52 days, on May 14th, and was rejoiced to find two of the three ships riding at anchor in the Bay. The second land expedition, under the command of Don Gaspar de Portola, the supreme commander of the entire venture, and accompanied by Fray Junipero Serra, the Father President of the Religious, after a difficult journey of 46 days, arrived at San Diego about a month and one half later, that is, on July 1st.

The men of all four expeditions had suffered the greatest hardships. Many of them had died, and of those who still remained alive, the greater part were suffering from one serious ailment or another. The larger part of these survivors were described by Fray Palou as "skeletons".

Undaunted by these great misfortunes and heavy losses, however, on the 14th of July, only two weeks after the arrival of the last contingent, a small expedition, 66 men in all, composed of those who still were able to go forward and led by General Portola, took the road northward in search of Monterey. Fray Crespi accompanied this expedition and, keeping a diary as he went, he became the historian of the venture.

Necessarily, this company passed through the Channel Area both on its northern journey and on its return. They were unable, however, to locate a place that resembled the Monterey of Viscaíno's enthusiastic description; and so they were forced, much discouraged and greatly weakened by their exertions, to return to San Diego and to admit to their convalescing companions the failure of the expedition. Actually, without knowing it, they had stood on the Monterey Peninsula, and they had looked on the waters of the much desired Monterey Bay. The reason for their failure to recognize the place for what it was probably stemmed from the fact that, while Viscaíno had described the Monterey Area as he saw it, lush and green in the middle of a wet winter, Portola and Crespi saw it parched and brown toward the end of a long and, perhaps, an especially dry season. Whatever the reason for the failure, the men of this first expedition returned to the base at San Diego with the discouraging report that no such place as had been described by Viscaíno existed anywhere along the route they had taken. The fact that Sergeant Jose Ortega, leading a small reconnaissance party had discovered a huge bay (San Francisco Bay) in no way compensated for their failure to find the much smaller and much less important Monterey Bay.

Discouraged but still undaunted, Portola, after but a few months of rest at the Base, set out a second time in search of Monterey. This time, the expedition left San Diego earlier in the season than they had done the year before, that is, in April; and so it happened that this time they arrived on the Peninsula, after a journey of 38 days, while it still was green and while the Salinas River still was running into the sea with a considerable volume. This time, they recognized it at once for what it was.

The San Antonio, with Fray Junipero Serra on board, though it had left San Diego the day before the second land expedition had set out, took 46 days to make the journey up the coast; and so it did not arrive at Monterey until a week after the arrival of the land party. As soon as the two parties were joined, both a presidio and a mission (San Carlos) were founded. After these notable events, a dozen years were to elapse before the third part of the original plan was accomplished, that is, before the community of San Buenaventura was founded on the Santa Barbara Channel about half way between San Diego and Monterey.

In the course of these two expeditions, the Spaniards became much better acquainted with the customs of the Channel Indians than they had done from the decks of their ships during the visits of Cabrillo and Viscaíno. Now, as they passed through the villages, the Indians came out to meet them with every sign of joy and friendliness. So closely did the Indians press themselves upon the Spaniards and so continuously did they dance and yell and sing that they, in many places, made real nuisances of themselves. On several occasions the Spaniards were forced into drastic measures to rid themselves for a while of the noise and the confusion and the necessity constantly to be on the alert.

Sergeant Ortega, in his report to Fray Palou on the events of the first expedition, stated that in the "Canal de Santa Barbara" the land teemed with thousands of Heathen who lived in their towns with their houses well in order, built trim canoes a vara^s wide and eight or nine varas long, and daily made good catches of fish in the ocean. He also stated that the Indians not only told the Spaniards of other white men with beards seven to 12 or



Indians building a canoe on Carpinteria Beach.

14 days journey to the eastward, but showed swords and knives, pieces of iron, beads, woven stuffs, and blue wool that must have come to them from these other Spaniards in New Mexico. In his opinion, the Channel Indians were superior to those encountered by the Expedition in the other parts of the Province.

As was to be expected, because the Spaniards were prone to give names to every place they visited or stopped at for a night, many of the place names in Santa Barbara County that are in common use today derive from one or the other of these two overland trips led by Portola. When he passed through the "magnificent valley" off which Viscaino had anchored a century and a half earlier, he came on a group of Indians making, or building, one of their famous boats; and so he called that place "The Place of the Carpenters", or "Carpenteria." When he came to the place where Cabrillo had received so many small fishes from the Indians and, as a consequence, had named it "La Pueblo de Las Sardinas", there was a small incident that involved seagulls; and so the men of the expedition named the place "Gaviota". Farther on, around Point Concepcion and Point Arguello, in a low area near the sand dunes, they encountered so very many grizzly bears (one of which was very thin) that they named the place "Oso Flaco". The grizzly bears are all gone now from this marsh or slough, or lake, but the low place still is there; and it still bears the name of "Oso Flaco".

During the late winter of 1782, a considerable company was assembled at Mission San Gabriel (founded in 1771) for the purpose of founding the long planned for and long delayed establishment of San Buenaventura and

of other missions along the Channel. As Fray Palou expressed it, besides the soldiers for the presidio and the three missions that were to be founded, there were 70 soldiers, a lieutenant, the Captain-Commander, Jose Francisco Ortega, an ensign, three sergeants and three corporals, the Governor, Neve, with his bodyguard of 10 soldiers from Monterey and the wives and families of those who were married; muleteers with a large packtrain of mules, trains of utensils and food supplies, servants, Indian neophytes to help with the construction of the various buildings, and two missionaries, Fray Junipero Serra and Fray Pedro Cambon.⁶ Fray Junipero Serra, as he surveyed this company, was astonished at its size; for it was the largest yet brought together in Alta California for the purpose of founding a new mission.

At the last moment, word was brought to Governor Neve that the two settlements on the Colorado River had been destroyed by the Indians of that region; and so he was called eastward and was not able to start for the Channel with the other members of the Expedition.

The actual start for the Channel Area was made from San Gabriel Mission on March 26th. Three days later, they arrived at the "Pueblo de Las Canoas" of Cabrillo and "La Asumpta" of Portola which they promptly named "San Buenaventura," and set about the establishment of a mission for the conversion of the Indians there. About two weeks later, the Expedition was joined by Governor Neve.

Leaving Fray Cambon in temporary charge of the mission site at San Buenaventura, together with a guard of 14 soldiers,⁷ the rest of the company set out along the Channel on April 15th. Before sundown, they had made what they judged to be nine leagues;⁸ and here they halted. They estimated that they were half way to Point Concepcion. The immediate neighborhood was surveyed by Fray Junipero Serra and a squad of soldiers, and a favorable site for the proposed presidio (at the present intersection of Santa Barbara and Canon Perdido Streets) was found, which was blessed by Father Serra. This site possessed a good view of the ocean shore, along which there was a large rancheria, a small supply of sweet water was near at hand, and the ground, though covered by an oak grove, seemed to be reasonably fertile.

A large cross was made, a ramada⁹ for a chapel was constructed, and a table for an altar was put together. On April 21st, at a formal ceremony, the Cross was raised and venerated, and the first Mass was said, in the course of which Fray Junipero Serra preached a fervent sermon to the assembled soldiers and camp followers, and to the curious Indians who were watching all that the Spaniards did. At the close of this ceremony, formal possession of the land was taken in the name of the King of Spain.

Father Serra had hoped that a mission site would be consecrated and the work of construction of a mission building would be begun at this time; but this Governor Neve forbade on the ground that there were not enough workmen present to construct both a presidio and a mission building. It was his opinion that, because there were so great a number of Indians in the Channel Area, whose temper might change at any moment from friendliness to hostility, the building of the presidio to serve as a strong point in case of need was the first necessity.

In this decision Father Serra, whose heart was set on the conversion of these Indians at the earliest possible moment, did not concur. Expressing

his disapproval to the Governor, he remained at the site for only a little while, and then he returned to Monterey.

The presidio as laid out by the Governor was to be a wall some eight feet high and more than three feet thick that would, when completed, enclose an area in size about that of a city block. Inside this wall was to be another square formed by the buildings of the soldiers' huts, the chapel, the quarters for the officers, and the store rooms. The center was to be an open area, which would be suitable for many uses both in time of peace and in time of siege. Cannon were to be placed in bastions, one at the west corner of the rough square and the other at the east. The main gate was to be in the southeast wall and was to open on the Bay.

Taken as a whole, this was a considerable undertaking, the more so because almost the only building material that was available to the Spaniards was the dirt of the ground on which the presidio was to be built; and, in the building of it, many years were to be consumed. Six years after the impressive founding ceremonies, when the second comandante, Captain Felipe de Goycochea, made a report to the Governor of California, Diego Borica, of the progress that had been made to that date, it still was far from completion. In this same report, mention was made of the fact that the soil of the area was not heavy enough to make good adobe bricks; and so the builders were forced to use mortar¹⁰ in the construction of the walls.

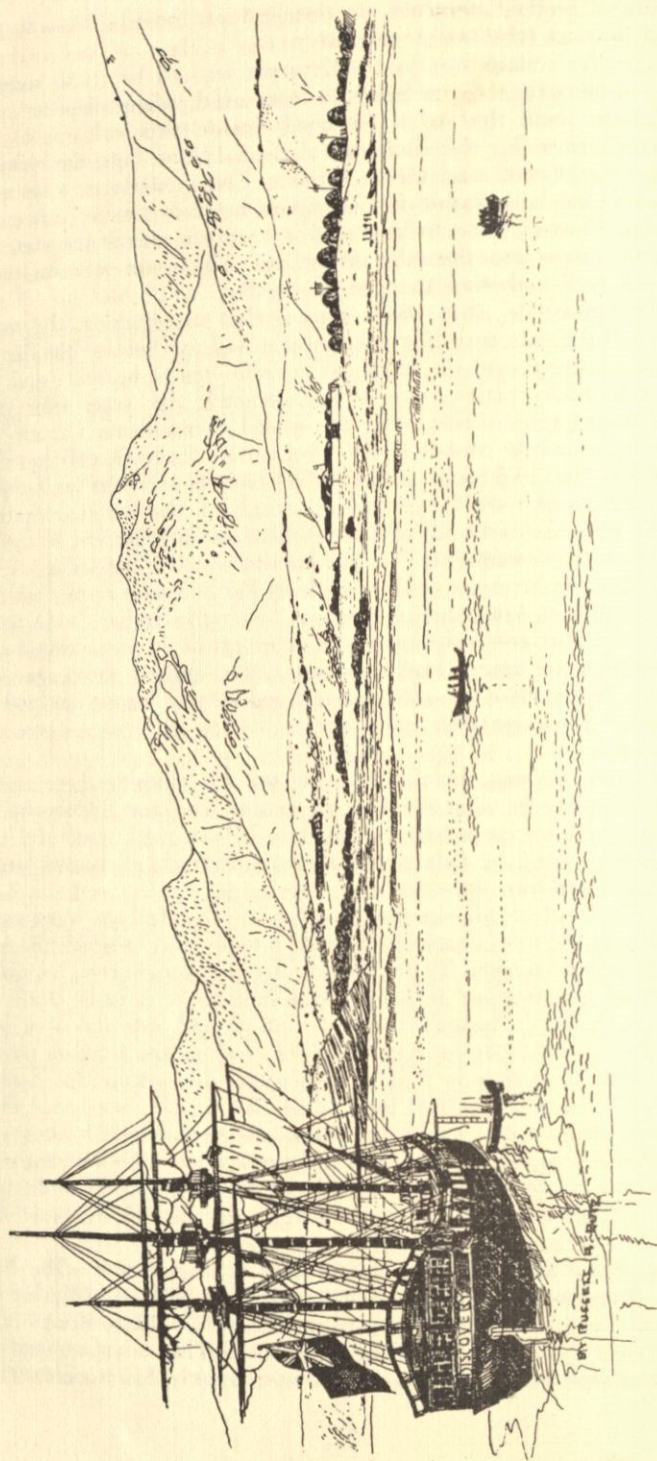
The Spaniards brought with them from Mexico and Spain, when they came to the Channel Area, many things of which the Indians were ignorant before the Spaniards arrived. Among the more tangible of these things were domestic animals of many kinds—horses, cattle, mules, sheep, goats, and hogs. Among the metals were iron and gold and silver. Among the foods were fruit of many kinds, garden vegetables, and such grains as corn, wheat, barley, and oats.

The idea of making bricks from the soil by shaping them and then drying them in the sun was wholly new; and so the heavy adobe buildings that, in the end, were constructed with these bricks were wonderful indeed to the natives who, up to this time, had never thought of houses larger or stronger than their own tule huts.

Most important of all, in the long run, to the Indians were some of the diseases that the newcomers brought with them and to which the natives had no immunity whatever. To the Spaniards, the common cold, for example, held few or no terrors; but to some of the Indians it came as Death itself. And there were other diseases that were introduced into the Area by the Spaniards that were to prove even more deadly than the common cold.

Along with these things that were of a tangible nature, the Spaniards brought with them many things that, though intangible, were none the less real. For one thing, they were a disciplined people who readily accepted the authority of the King, of the civil and military leaders who were superior to themselves, and of the clergy and the Mother Church. To the undisciplined Indians, this concept of authority was largely, if not wholly, new; and it was one that they accepted with great reluctance.

The same can be said of the use of metal coins as money. The Indians from time immemorial had had their so-called "wampum"—bits of shells pierced in the center and strung on strings. Sometimes these strings of shell bits were called "Indian money" by white men. This wampum had value among these simple people because it was used largely for ornamentation of



Vancouver's ship at Santa Barbara.

clothing and for other personal adornment; but it hardly can be called money in the sense that the Spaniards called their gold and silver coins "money".

In the same way, the Spaniards' concept of the ownership of land was entirely foreign to the Indians. Deeds for certain, definite parcels of land, whether large or small, whether for ownership by an individual or by a community, were wholly unknown to them. The important ceremony of taking possession of the land in the name of the King of Spain, which the Spaniards were careful to perform on every suitable occasion, was meaningless to them. Indeed, the concept of a King and Court was outside their experience and, therefore, impossible for them to understand.

Sustained, hard labor was not congenial to their natures. In the past, they had performed cheerfully the work necessary to the building of a boat or the constructing of a new house when the situation demanded it of them; but these jobs had been done as and when the spirit moved the Indians to do them and, in large measure, at their own convenience. Steady, day by day work in the fields under the direction and compulsion of major domos, or foremen, or in the making of adobe bricks, from which were to be made buildings that would take years to complete, was repugnant to them. Many an Indian, therefore, when the Spaniards placed him in an unwanted position of peonage, sought to evade the labor that was required of him by wilful idleness and by running away to his brothers in the wilds who had not yet come under the Spanish yoke.

This system of peonage, carefully codified in the so-called Laws of Burgos in 1512, was mild to brutally harsh according to the locality and to the characters of the men who enforced it. In the Antilles (Cuba, Espanola, etc.) it had been extremely brutal, and it had resulted in the almost complete extermination of the natives in those Islands. On Alta California, especially where the Missions were the centers of Indian life, this peonage was of as mild a character as the Padres were capable of making it; but, here too, its effects were disastrous to the natives.

In farming, the Spaniards taught the Indians the most primitive methods with simple, primitive tools. The plows the Indians were taught to use, for example, were merely the crotches of trees, one limb of which was the upright handle and the other was the base, or ground. The base was sharpened to a blunt point and to this was fastened an iron point about six inches long. Such a crudely made plow did little more than scratch the surface of the soil, and the oxen that drew it moved forward at a very slow walk; yet with these humble means very large crops were produced in those fields where the soil was light and fertile and in those years when the rains were abundant.

Around the Presidio, as the slow and largely uneventful years passed, there was formed without plan or conscious thought, a tiny community, or pueblo. This community, which included the soldiers of the fort and their families, gradually was enlarged by an occasional sailor from one of the few ships that touched at Santa Barbara and by men who were retired from the military after long service. Rarely, a family came here to dwell from some other community in Alta California and from Mexico. Presently, this pueblo consisted of a little cluster of adobe houses that were set here and there, each one with little or no relation to the others surrounding the fort. In this helter skelter arrangement of the houses, the Pueblo resembled in

some measure the Indian rancherias along the shore and to the east and west of the Presidio. All of the families in these houses, as well as the soldiers living within the walls of the Presidio, procured their household water from the springs, later known as the De la Guerra Wells, under the small bluff upon which the Presidio had been built, and from Mission Creek. This was not a large supply of water, but it was a sufficient one to fill the needs of man and beast in the little community.¹¹

When Vancouver, the English seaman and explorer, visited Santa Barbara in November, 1793, in the course of his long cruise southward along the Pacific Coast, he found the community firmly established, with a more than adequate supply of food. With the permission of the Comandante, Captain Goycochea, he traded with the Indians for a supply of hogs, vegetables, fowls, and dried fish, all of which the Indians seem to have had in abundance. Wishing to replenish his water supply, he inspected the wells that the Spaniards had dug near the shore for the use of their own ships; and he found this water so dirty and brackish that he was unwilling to fill his casks with it. After a search, he located a spring of sweet water in a marsh not far from the wells of the Spaniards, yet, until that moment, one that was unknown to them. From the live oaks that grew here he procured knees for his ship's (the Discovery) bow and bumpkins.

Of Captain Goycochea, who welcomed the Englishman with unexpected kindness and courtesy, Vancouver spoke in the highest praise, declaring him to be an officer of a noble and generous mind.



CHAPTER THREE

Four years after the founding of the Presidio and while this necessary structure still was far from completion, and two years after the death of Fray Junipero Serra (August 28th, 1784) in San Carlos Mission in Monterey, a group of notables began to gather at the Presidio, which at this time housed a garrison of some 40 soldiers. The purpose of this gathering was the founding of the mission that Fray Serra had been so desirous of establishing at the time that work on the Presidio of Santa Barbara was begun. Late in October, Fray Lasuen, the new Presidente of the Alta California Missions, accompanied by Fray Cristobal Oramas and Fray Antonio Paterna, arrived and at once began the preparations for the founding of the new mission. The site, which had been carefully selected earlier, was on a considerable elevation¹² that, to the southeast, overlooked the waters of the Channel and, to the west, a wide, fertile valley (the Goleta Valley). Immediately beside this especially commanding site ran a small, clear stream of water that, later, was to be known as Mission Creek. The place was about a mile and one-half from the Presidio and about twice this distance from the shore of the Channel. In the preliminary plans it had been given the name of "Montecito" (Little Mountain). Now, by order of the Viceroy in Mexico, this name was changed to "Santa Barbara", to conform with that of the Presidio.

Because the fourth of December is the feast day of the Patroness of the Area, Santa Barbara, on this day in 1786 a cross was made and raised on the proposed site. Ten days later, Governor Fages, whose presence was necessary at the official founding of the mission, arrived at the Presidio. Two days after this, in the presence of the Governor, a ramada was built beside the Cross, the first Mass was said, and the Mission of Santa Barbara officially was declared to be founded.

The first chapel, or church building, a relatively small structure, was composed of "poles and thatch"; and so it did not take long to build. The work of the Padres attached to the Mission was successful almost from the first day. In the first six months, some 70 Indians were baptised. Horses, cattle, and other animals, as well as seed grain, were contributed by those missions to the north and the southeast that already were established. In the fall of 1786, 12½ bushels of wheat were planted. The next year, 30 bushels of wheat, along with small amounts of other grains, were planted; and the yield in wheat alone the next spring was 200 bushels.¹³

By 1789, the first chapel, or church, was too small to accomodate the numbers of Indians that came to the religious services; and so a second church was built, this one with adobe walls and tile roof. In 1793, a third and still larger church building was begun, which building, when finished the next year, was in constant service until 1812. Each year, other, additional secondary buildings were erected; and soon the community here far outnumbered that of the Presidio both in actual population and in the number of buildings. It had become a self-sustaining community that, with very few exceptions, produced all the necessities of life for its people.



The chapel and rancheria at Las Cieneguitas are partially reconstructed in this drawing by Russell Ruiz. Crosses in the Indian cemetery indicate Christian burials, while the pole with hanging eagle feathers is an idol to the pagan god of land and air, a protector of crops, called Chupu or Sup.

Because the stream that ran down from the mountains close behind the Mission Community did not carry enough water, during the long, dry summers and falls when water was most needed, to meet the needs of the fast growing Community—for drinking, washing, irrigation, and many other necessities—two dams, each of considerable size, were built in the canyons immediately behind the Mission. From the small ponds that were impounded behind these two dams, water was carried in carefully engineered open, stone channels to the reservoirs built into the hillside to the east of the Mission building. From the lower of these two reservoirs it was carried to the Mission gardens and to the lavanderia that had been constructed in front of the Mission quadrangle for the use of the Indian women. Between the upper and the lower reservoirs, a mill was built and, as the water flowed from the one to the other, it turned a large mill wheel in this stone building.

Water for drinking purposes was cleaned, or strained, by passing it through a bed of charcoal in a little, stone building immediately to the north of the upper reservoir. From this charcoal basin, the drinking water was carried through baked clay pipes laid on the top of a heavy, stone wall to the center of the Mission quadrangle.

Single room dwellings of adobe to house the native converts were built to the west of the Mission quadrangle and at a convenient distance from it. As the number of converts increased—as it did rapidly—this part of the

Mission Community grew proportionately. Eventually, there were more than 250 houses here, each one occupied by a family of Indians. So imposing did this Indian village become that Professor Brewer, when he viewed it in ruins in 1861, spoke of it as a town with streets.

In 1796, it was discovered that the rafters of the church building, which had been cut from the straight but soft sycamore and alder trees that grew along the course of the stream, had become so weak from rotting and the action of wood-borers that they no longer were strong enough to support the considerable weight of the tile roof. To replace these rafters, new, pine timbers were sought. Unhappily, no pines grew in the immediate neighborhood of the Mission; and those that grew on the top of the Santa Ynez Range, "La Cuesta de Santa Ines" of the Spaniards, were too small and too few in number to be of use. Tradition has it that, after a considerable search, trees of the right kind and of sufficient size for the purposes of the Padres were found on the north slope of the San Rafael Range, 30 or 40 miles to the north of the Mission.¹⁴ Tradition also has it that these pines were cut and were carried, a timber at a time, over the very rough, intervening mountains and canyons to the Mission on the shoulders of the Indian converts. At least some of them were dragged by oxen over San Marcos Pass, possibly from Little Pine Mountain. To bring the influence of the missionaries more forcibly to the rancherias that lay to the east and west, a number of chapels were built in favorable places—at Montecito, at Cieneguitas, and, where there was a considerable concentration of pagans, on the low, flat land near Mescalitan Island (the Goleta Slough Area).

Land on which crops were planted each year and on which animals were grazed under the supervision of the Padres came to be known as "ranchos", and each one was given its own, individual name. On one of the flats of the Santa Ynez Valley, at a place about half way to Mission Santa Ynez (built in 1804), an asistencia of considerable size was built. This establishment often was referred to as the San Marcos Cattle Ranch. All of these lands were said to be church lands.

These chapels and the asistencia were visited by the missionaries and at more or less regular intervals religious services were held in them. They materially increased the influence that the Padres were able to exert on the Indians of the Channel Area. Obviously, in its heyday, the Mission Community dwarfed the Presidio Community in size, influence, wealth, and importance to Alta California. The interests of the two communities were not always identical, and so there was a steadily growing feeling of resentment between them.

In the early days of the two communities, land had little or no value, there were no individuals who owned great ranchos, as there were in later times. An occasional old soldier, when he retired from active service, or an occasional Indian of proven worth, was given a small plot of land within the so-called Pueblo; but large grants of land were frowned on by the clergy. Though the Church held no actual deed, or title, to the land, the Padres felt that they held it in trust, as guardians, for the Indians, to whom it would be given when they had progressed sufficiently in the arts of civilization to possess it. The Padres felt that it would be a great disservice to allow the land to be divided into large ranchos and, in this manner, to have the Indians removed from their paternal care and supervision. It had been hoped by the advisers of the King that the period of tutelage would be short, perhaps not

more than a decade; but, as the years passed with only modest progress on the part of the Indians, it became obvious to all concerned that the early schedules would have to be revised and that the period of tutelage would have to be considerably lengthened. It also became apparent that the system of land grants would have to be altered and that occasional grants of considerable size would have to be made.

The ranchos granted to individuals in what came to be Santa Barbara County were, before 1824, "San Rafael", to Verdugo; "Los Nietos", to Nieto; "Portezula", to Verdugo; "Simi", to Pico; "Refugio", to Ortega; "San Pedro", to Dominguez; "Conejo", to Polanco; "Santiago de Santa Ana", to Yorba; "Virgines", to Ortega; "Felix", "San Antonio", to Lugo; and "Suazal Redondo", to Avila. Of these 11 grants, that of "Refugio", to Ortega, became the most important historically.

"Refugio" was granted to Captain Jose Francisco Ortega, the first comandante of the Santa Barbara Presidio, when his term of military service was drawing to a close. Captain Ortega was a man who had come to Alta California as a sergeant in the Portola Expedition, and who had led the reconnaissance party that had discovered San Francisco Bay. He had been a faithful soldier and, as such, he deserved well of the King. The grant, which was a large one, lay along the Channel well to the eastward of Point Concepcion and well to the westward of Santa Barbara. Because land at this time was all but valueless, as well as the fact that the Spaniards in California had no system of exact measurement of land, the boundaries were carelessly, even casually, drawn. In some of the old writings, the location of this grant is referred to as "Gaviota". Today, it is associated with the large canyon and the difficult pass over the Santa Ynez Range that still bears its name.

Captain Ortega moved his family from Santa Barbara to Rancho Refugio, built a house and corral there, and stocked the land with animals, as he was required by law to do. With the passing of the years, a considerable community grew up here, one at which the few ships that came into the Channel annually made stops. Eventually, Refugio became one of the chief ports of entry in all southern California for the non-Spanish seamen who sought to evade the very high duties that were imposed on all foreign traders on the California Coast.

In 1801, Santa Barbara was plagued by a serious epidemic of pleuropneumonia. Of the whites, Ensign Cota, three soldiers, and a colonist died of the malady; and many others were desperately sick. Of the Indians, so many died that, for a while, it seemed as if the whole Channel venture was endangered. Other maladies, too, which had been brought into the area by the first white settlers, by this time had become almost universal to the natives and the consequent decline in births had become noticeable. Few children were born and of these few lived to maturity.

earthquake
In 1812, and again in 1814, the region was visited by strong earthquakes. These were not the first shocks that the Spaniards had encountered here. In 1770, when Portola approached the Channel Region for the second time, he encountered a temblor of such violence that his whole party was badly frightened. Ten minutes later, a second quake passed under them; but this second temblor was not as strong as had been the first one. The earthquake of 1812 was so strong that it did immense damage throughout

southern California. The large adobe buildings that the Spaniards had constructed with so much labor were peculiarly susceptible to damage from this source. Mission Purisima was reduced in a few moments to mounds of rubble, presenting, as one Padre expressed it, "the spectacle of Jerusalem destroyed". San Juan Capistrano, the most pretentious of the California missions, was destroyed beyond repair and, of the neophytes, that is, the Indian converts, many were killed.

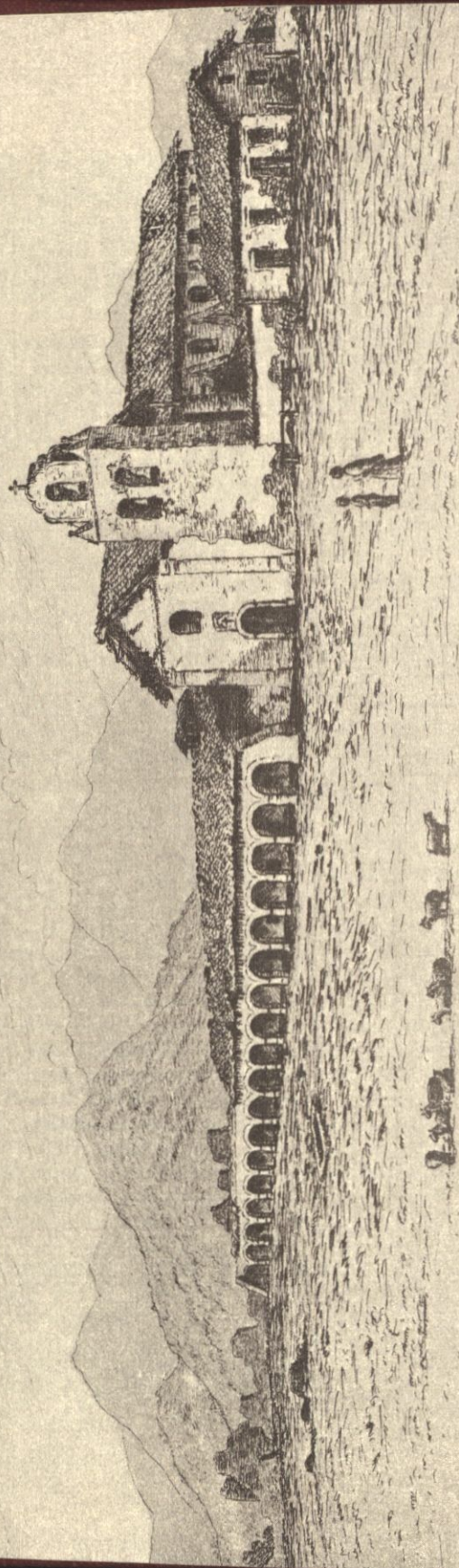
Santa Barbara Mission suffered such severe damage that the whole had to be rebuilt. The cornerstone of the new church was laid in 1815 and, for the next five years, the work of construction went on steadily. In 1817, Captain Wilcox, of the trading ship "Traveller", who was paying a visit to Santa Barbara, crossed the Channel to Santa Cruz Island and returned to the mainland with timbers for the roof of the new building. The new church, with walls of cut sandstone, was finished in the summer of 1820 and was dedicated on September 10th of that year.

The facade of the new church is so different in design from those of other California mission churches that it has been the object of much comment. While most have praised it in glowing terms, a few have criticised it as a combination of architectural forms—the Classical, as found in the facade, and the Spanish-Colonial of the arched cloister—that are unrelated and that do not blend gracefully with each other. Fray Ripoll, the designer of the structure, necessarily, was not a trained architect; yet he had access to the books in the extensive Church library, one or more of which dealt in detail with the more striking of the Spanish and Italian churches and other buildings. It is all but certain that he obtained the design of the facade from an illustration of a small church in Italy in one of these books.

The new church building, once it was completed, was to stand for more than a century as a memorial to the intelligence of its designer and to the industry and integrity of the Indians who did the manual labor.

In 1812, the year of the great earthquake, another American seaman visiting the Channel Area, Captain Adams, in the "Forrester", came upon a rudderless Japanese ship drifting helplessly in the water off Santa Barbara. Boarding the vessel, he found three members of the crew still alive even though the ship had sailed out of a Japanese port 17 months earlier. This episode, of small importance in itself, set men to wondering, if, possibly, other ships of the Orient, especially Chinese ships, had made the long voyage across the Pacific in times before the Spaniards came to the California Coast. If this was the case, no record of any such voyage has been found, so far, in the Californias or in Mexico. In China, there are evidences that some men have construed as indicating such voyages.

The completion of the new Mission building marks the high point in the record of the California missionary venture. From this time forward, the missionary movement in Alta California deteriorated swiftly. The causes of this decline in the Santa Barbara Area were many, but the chief of them were the rapid diminution of the Indian populations about the Mission and about its chapels, the steadily growing feeling of jealousy and antagonism on the part of the colonists of the Pueblo toward the Mission Community, the ever-increasing number of non-Spanish trading ships that frequented the Channel waters, the parties of American fur trappers that came overland to California, and the rapidly expanding feeling of hostility throughout the Americas to the old, paternal, colonial systems of Europe.



Santa Ynez

Santa Ynez Mission.

H.C. Ford 1888

CHAPTER FOUR

The first non-Spanish trading ships to enter California waters were those of the Russians. While a few of these came in quest of food, especially grains, for their hard pressed establishments in Alaska, the bulk of them were interested chiefly in furs. Fur seals and the much smaller sea otter were the two creatures sought. Of these two, the latter was much the more important as far as California was concerned.

Before the coming of the white hunters, the sea otter had existed in great numbers all along the American coast as far south as San Diego and the Cedros Islands. The fur of those taken in the northern, or colder waters, was much finer than of those of warmer, southern waters; yet any sea otter pelt was held in high regard by the Chinese and so it was eagerly sought by the traders. In 1741, when the crew of Bering's ship, "St. Peter", returned from American waters to Siberia, they brought with them some 900 sea otter skins that they had received from the Indians. This might be said to be the beginning of the sea otter trade. In 1812, after a quarter century of hunting and trading farther north, the Russian ships entered San Francisco Bay and, in the course of their explorations there, took very many otter pelts.

The Spaniards seem to have become aware of the wealth to be made in the sea otter trade at least as early as 1786. They engaged in a sort of triangular trade that originated in Mexico, secured otter skins largely by trade in California, traded these pelts in China for mercury, or quick silver, and returned with this much needed commodity to the mines in Mexico.

Americans in considerable numbers also were engaged early in this lucrative trade. Actually, before the trade was very old, they outnumbered all other traders many fold.

In one five year period, some 50,000 otter pelts were taken in San Francisco Bay; and the total taken over the years up and down the length of the American Coast may have been in excess of 200,000 pelts. So great was the slaughter that it all but exterminated this relatively gentle and easily taken fur bearer. In about a century, the creature became so scarce that it ceased to be a factor in the economy of California. Many thought that it had been completely exterminated.

The Channel Islands were one of the most profitable localities, before the creatures were exterminated, for the taking of sea otters; and so hunters of many nationalities came here to engage in the trade. Except for Spanish nationals, all hunting of and trading in otters was illegal except under permits secured at great cost from the Spanish authorities. It was a profitable business, however, a sea otter skin having a value of 30 dollars in Honolulu and almost treble that in Canton; and so, without regard for the Spanish law, hardy captains of Russian, American, British, and other ships did not scruple to engage in it.

In 1839, as an example of this willingness to evade the law, a Captain Barcroft, an Englishman by birth and an American by naturalization, sailed out of Honolulu Harbor to engage in sea otter hunting in Santa Barbara Channel. As had been his custom for the many years he had engaged in this business, he touched first at Alaska, where he picked up 60 or 70 Indian

hunters, and then headed south for the Channel. He did not have permission to hunt or to trade in California water, and so, should he be apprehended by the officials, which was unlikely, his vessel was subject to confiscation.

Captain Barcroft arrived at Santa Cruz Island and at once sent out his Alaskans in their canoes to begin hunting operations. When these Indians returned, they brought in to the mother ship a much smaller number of otters than the Captain had expected them to take. (By this time, the sea otters had been greatly reduced in numbers by the heavy toll that had been taken of them in the past half century of hunting.) The Captain blamed this lack of success on the indifference of the hunters. The Alaskans resented his violent charges of laziness and lack of skill and, in the uproar that ensued, they shot and killed the Captain. After this fatal termination of the episode, the mate of the vessel returned the Indians to their homes in Alaska and took the ship back to Honolulu. No notice of the incident was taken by the California authorities, of course.

As the numbers of sea otters declined and the trade in their pelts necessarily became less and less, an extensive trade in cattle hides and tallow developed. At this time, cattle in great numbers were grazing in a half wild condition on the so-called mission lands and on the lands of the few privately owned ranchos. American ships, hailing largely from New England ports, were especially active in this new trade, bringing to California, by way of Cape Horn and also from Honolulu,¹⁵ the goods that were manufactured along the Atlantic Seaboard; and returning with cargoes of hides and tallow. For the first time, as this trade grew in volume, the rancheros had an outlet for the products of their ranchos and, as a consequence, the value of the land along the California coast increased. This, in turn, greatly increased the number of Californios who desired to obtain grants of land from the governors of the Province, who followed one another in rather rapid succession in this high office. Up to 1824, the number of rancheros was small, not more than 20; but, after this date, the number increased rapidly. By 1830, there were 50 ranchos scattered up and down the length of California; and soon, after the passing of another decade, there were approximately 600. By this time, trade in hides had become extensive.

As the Spaniards first, and after them the Mexicans, not only wished to keep all of this lucrative trade to themselves but also wished to keep out of the Province all aliens, the duties that were laid on imported goods were very high, usually at least 100 per cent. Unhappily, from the point of view of the authorities, the revenue vessels necessary for the enforcement of these strict laws were all but totally absent from California waters. The result was an immense amount of smuggling. It was common practice for American traders to land a considerable part of their cargoes in one or another of the secluded harbors of the Channel Islands and then, with largely empty holds, to proceed to Monterey, as the law required them to do, and to pay there the required tariffs. This done, the ships would return to the Channel Islands, pick up the goods that had been left there, and then trade up and down the coast. Because these traders brought goods that were necessary to the well being of Californios generally, many of the officials, if not most of them, closed their eyes to this smuggling. Some of them, along with some members of the clergy, even took part in this illicit trade. In this trade, a "hide" was considered to have the value of two dollars in silver.¹⁶

1240

No attempt was made by those who directed the affairs of the Province to encourage local manufacture. As there were no deposits of coal in the Province, and no streams with permanent, year round flows of water to furnish power for the operation of even the simplest machines, and because none of the metals usually used in industry had been discovered, there was little to stimulate the initiative of the individual in this direction. The economy of the Province was wholly a hand economy.

In a sense, it could be said fairly that the social structure was bound together by rawhide, for this commodity was in even greater use than was baling wire three-quarters of a century later. The beams of the houses were held in place by strips of rawhide, rawhide bound the yokes to the horns of the oxen, and the riatas and bridles and saddles and other harness were made of the same material. Even the containers into which the melted tallow was poured from the trying out vats were made of rawhide. In many instances, not only skill but real artistry as well went into the making of many of the articles in common use. The braiding of an eight strand bridle and reins, for example, reached a high degree of excellence.

Transportation by land was a matter of horses, mule and oxen, with the emphasis strongly on the horse. The ox drawn caretta, with its solid wheels made of sections of sycamore trunks, was in general use; but travel in this heavy, clumsy vehicle was slow and tedious—at a rate of about two miles an hour. More than this, it could be used to advantage only on the flat lands. (The Province was without graded roads, as we use the term.)

By sea, travel up and down the coast was made possible by the ships of the traders. This mode of travel was comfortable enough when judged by the standards of the day; but it was uncertain because these vessels operated without fixed schedules. Furthermore, as there were no wharves, all passages from the shore to the ship and back again were by means of small boats through the surf. During times of storm, when the waves ran high, there were added to the journey additional uncertainties and delays, if not actual dangers. A journey by sea was not one to be undertaken lightly, especially in the winter time.

For these reasons, as well as for the fact that the Californio possessed great natural skill as a rider, great use was made of the horse. Every rancho, every community, was possessed of great herds of these useful animals. So many horses were there, indeed, that a single one was held to be of but the smallest worth. Usually, when a man, or a party of men, set out on a long ride, they drove ahead of them a small herd of horses; and from this herd, from time to time, they secured fresh mounts. In this fashion, long distances were covered in relatively short periods of time over the paths, or trails, that ran from one community to another.

While these events were taking place in California, bold, hardy, and self-reliant trappers were searching every stream and river of the Rocky Mountains for beaver pelts; and a considerable trade was developing between the settlements at the mouth of the Missouri River and Santa Fe, in New Mexico. Soon, the Great Salt Lake became one of the recognized places of rendezvous for these men, who usually followed their vocations in "brigades" that were composed of trappers numbering any figure from 10 to 30 or 40. From the Great Salt Lake, and also from Santa Fe, some of these men pushed out into and across the deserts and barren mountain



Johann

West Beach, with Castle Rock at center.

ranges; and soon they were trapping for beaver along the streams of the Sierra Nevada and the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers. Used as they had become to the rigors of winters spent in high altitudes of the mountains, they spread the report of California as a very paradise throughout the entire Mississippi Valley. Richard Dana tells of one of these brigades in the Pueblo of Los Angeles in the 1830s that, for two or three days, took over the government of the community. Monterey and Yerba Buena (San Francisco) saw many of these men as transient visitors and a few of them as more or less permanent settlers.

Coastal southern California was too arid to support large streams in which beaver could live in large numbers; and so it was that Santa Barbarans saw little of these boisterous, hard-living, hard-fighting Americans. In other parts of the Province, however, the presence of these men was felt with considerable force, sometimes with decisive force; and so even the remote, or secluded, Channel Area could not be wholly unaffected by their activities and by the mores of the society from which they came. These trappers differed widely from the Americans who came by sea as traders to California. They brought little with them but their own hardihood when they entered the Province, and they took little except the beaver skins they were able to obtain either by trapping or by trade with them when they departed. When they took an active part in any one of the many political disturbances and armed contests that came to plague the Province after the declaration of its independence from Spain, the side that they espoused always was the winner.¹⁷

The wide spread and steadily growing feeling of hostility throughout the Americas for the colonial systems of Europe, which first became strongly manifest in the American Revolution, was brought with startling suddenness to the attention of Californios on October 6th, 1818. On this date there arrived at Santa Barbara the American brig 'Clarion', sailing from the Hawaiian Islands, with the terrifying news that two ships, the Argentina and the Santa Rosa, were outfitting at Honolulu for a descent on the California coast. These insurgent ships flew the flag of the rebel government of Buenos Aires, and they were commanded by Captain Hipolite Bouchard and Lieutenant Peter Corney respectively.

In the past, there had been reports in California of depredations to Spanish shipping by insurgents. Now, the communities along the California coast were threatened with actual attack by a revolutionary force possibly numbering as many as 300 men. As there were but 25 men in the garrison at Monterey, and as the presidio at San Diego was in an even greater condition of unreadiness at this time, it was obvious to all that, should the attack eventuate and should it be driven home with vigor, a successful defense was not possible.

Captain Jose de la Guerra, the Comandante of the Santa Barbara presidio, immediately upon reception of this news, sent curriers "violente" to warn Governor Sola, at Monterey, and the missionaries of the more exposed missions along the coast of the impending attack. When De la Guerra received the required permission from the Governor, he prepared to evacuate the women and children of Santa Barbara, along with those articles of value that could be moved, across the Santa Ynez Mountains to the safety of the Santa Ynez Mission. Though Captain Bouchard carried a commission from

the Buenos Aires government, he and the members of his crew were branded as pirates by the frightened officials of California.¹⁸ (This approbrious title still is heard when these men are mentioned in present day Santa Barbara.)

Bouchard arrived off Monterey on November 22nd and demanded of Governor Sola the surrender of the Province. This demand was rejected indignantly by Sola, yet the Governor at once prudently withdrew his forces up the Salina River to the present location of the City of Salinas and left Monterey unprotected and at the mercy of the men he had branded as pirates. Bouchard landed a force that is said to have numbered 400 armed men,¹⁹ with cannon, and sacked the Capitol. He then returned to his ships and steered south along the coast.

He appeared in the Santa Barbara Channel, off Gaviota, on December 2nd. A party was sent ashore here for supplies. At Gaviota, as had been the case at Monterey, the people attached to the Rancho Refugio retreated deep into the mountain wall with all their movable valuables, and they left the buildings of the, by this time, considerable ranch center open to the attackers. A few of the boldest spirits, however, mounted on good horses and armed with the ever present riata, remained in hiding near the buildings and watched to see what would take place. When three of Bouchard's men became separated from the main body, these Californios rushed down upon them from the place of concealment and dragged them off before their companions could come to their rescue. In reprisal for this "treachery", Bouchard, the next morning, landed a larger force and, after burning everything that was inflammable, the men slaughtered as many of the cattle and other animals as they could take.

While these events were taking place at Rancho Refugio, a contingent of soldiers from the Santa Barbara Presidio and settlers within the Pueblo, under the leadership of Sergeant Carrillo, hurried to the scene of attack. The padres of Missions Santa Barbara, Santa Ynez, Purisima Concepcion, and San Luis Obispo armed bands of Indians with bows and knives and lances and set out to succor their fellow countrymen at Rancho Refugio. Against the well armed attackers, however, those of these mixed and hurriedly assembled and badly armed forces that arrived at Gaviota in time to be of assistance were too weak to do more than to watch from a safe distance what was taking place. When Bouchard recalled his men to the ships and set off down the Channel in the direction of Santa Barbara, the contingent from this town rode along the shore abreast of the slowly moving ships. Once or twice the insurgents fired upon the shore party with their cannon; but the distance was too great, and the cannon balls fell far short of their targets.

When Bouchard reached Santa Barbara, he cast anchor and sent a man ashore under a flag of truce to ask for a parley. The Comandante, Jose de la Guerra, agreed to this. In the course of this parley, Bouchard proposed that, for an exchange of prisoners, he would leave the Coast. To this proposal De la Guerra wisely agreed.²⁰ When the actual exchange was made, Bouchard received back three of his men (one of them a lieutenant) and the Comandante received a drunken settler whom Bouchard's men had picked up in Monterey. After the exchange was consummated, Bouchard continued his voyage south and, after a stop at San Juan Capistrano, was seen no more in California waters.

Some five years after the descent of Captain Bouchard and Lieutenant Corney on the Channel Area, that is, in February, 1824, the officers and soldiers of the Presidio again were called upon to face an unusual emergency. This time, the Indians of the Mission Communities were the cause of the mustering of armed men.

From the very beginning of the missionary enterprise, the Padres had mistrusted the soldiery; and, whenever possible, they had established their missions at a considerable distance both from the presidios and from the "royal pueblos".²¹ As a generality, this mistrust had been amply justified by the cruelties and the inhumanities that had been practised on the Indians by the soldiers on those occasions where opportunity offered. Because the Indians were by nature an unwarlike people, and also because the system of peonage to which they were subjected kept them unarmed and helpless in the presence of rough, armed men, their only hope of escape from the indignities that had been thrust upon them by their masters was to escape, as opportunity for escape came to them, to their wild brethren of "The Tulares", that remote region beyond the mountains to the north of the Channel Area. Oftentimes, however, the Indians who ran away from the Missions after a considerable stay there, and who attempted to join their kinsmen in a free state were very badly treated by these same wild kinsmen. And so, at times, the lot of the Indian was a hard one. So hard was it that, sometimes, it seemed that he was ground between the upper and the nether millstones, with little or no chance for a different life. While many of them had become sincerely devoted to the Padres, most of them hated and feared the soldiers. In many a dark breast, a justifiable enmity smoldered and waited for a chance to burst into armed resistance.

One day, on an order by Corporal Cota, as a punishment for a short-coming that was real or fanciful, one of the soldiers of the guard at Mission Santa Ynez trussed up a Purisima neophyte, who was visiting friends at Santa Ynez, and flogged him brutally. This mistreatment proved to be the spark necessary for the ignition of the powder keg. A general uprising followed immediately at the three Santa Barbara Missions, and the attempt was made, also, to involve the Indians of the San Buenaventura Mission.

At Santa Ynez, the Indians attacked the soldiers, who defended themselves behind the thick walls of the Mission building. No lives were lost in this attack, but, in the fighting, inflammable material within the building was set on fire and a part of the structure was burned. This happened on a Sunday. The next day, the news of the conflict having been carried to the Presidio in Santa Barbara, a military force under the command of Sergeant Carrillo arrived on the scene and prepared to give battle to the insurrectionists. At this, the Indians gave up the fight and fled to Mission Purisima Concepcion near the mouth of the Santa Ynez Valley. It is worthy of note that no attempt to harm their pastors, Padres Calzada and Gutierrez, was made by the enraged Indians.

At Purisima Mission, when the news of the uprising at Santa Ynez was received, the Indians took possession of the Mission buildings. Corporal Tapia, with the four or five soldiers of the Mission guard, barricaded themselves in their quarters, along with the members of their families and the two missionaries, and fought off the Indians until their supply of powder gave out. During this fighting, four whites and seven Indians were killed.

When the whites surrendered, as at last, they were forced to do, the Indians sent Padre Ordaz and Corporal Tapia to warn Sergeant Carrillo at Santa Ynez that they would kill those of the whites that they still held, should the troops be sent against them. Before an answer could be received to this warning, however, they liberated the soldiers and their families, whom they were holding as hostages; and they allowed these people to follow the Padre and the Corporal to Santa Ynez. Padre Rodriguez, however, did not leave his Mission; but he elected to remain with the neophytes, for whom he had the deepest feeling of sympathy and affection.

After the departure of the whites, the Indians began to prepare themselves for defense, for they were certain that soldiers would be sent against them and, if they made no resistance, they would be punished harshly and with the greatest severity. They loop-holed the adobe walls and they erected palisades across the open spaces between the buildings. They even mounted two rusty cannon that had remained unwanted and unused at the Mission. This last operation was an empty gesture, for they had had no training whatever with heavy ordinance, and it was certain that they would be able to do little or no damage with it in the expected seige.

In Santa Barbara, when the news of the uprising in Santa Ynez reached the Mission, Father Ripoll was at the Presidio and so, of course, not with his neophytes. Hearing the news, which may or may not have been expected by the Indians, they became greatly agitated and, arming themselves with what weapons were available to them, they worked themselves up into a frenzy of fear of an attack by the soldiers of the nearby Presidio and a desire to support their comrades at Santa Ynez and Purisima.

When Padre Ripoll returned from the fort to the Mission, he was told by his neophytes that the soldiers on duty at the Mission as guards must be sent back to the Presidio and must be kept there. With this demand the missionary complied and ordered the men to leave. Possibly emboldened by this success, the Indians then demanded that the soldiers leave their weapons at the Mission and return to the Presidio unarmed. When two of the guards refused to comply with this second demand, they were savagely attacked and wounded before they could make good their escape. This attack on his soldiers so enraged Captain De la Guerra that he immediately led as large a force as he could muster to the Mission. In the fight that followed, which lasted for some three hours, two of the Indians were killed, and three others were wounded. Four of De la Guerra's soldiers were wounded. After these inconclusive results had been achieved, De la Guerra returned with his men to the Presidio.

With the fear of immediate attack removed, the Indians broke into the store rooms and took whatever they thought would be useful to them. They were careful, however, not to take any of the articles that were considered by them to belong to the Padres or to the Church. Then they retreated up Mission Canyon to the protection of the mountains. When De la Guerra returned to the scene of the recent battle, he found the Mission deserted. The soldiers at once sacked the Indian village, taking from the houses there whatever appealed to their cupidity, though what they found in these small and poverty-ridden rooms must, of necessity have been of the smallest value to them. Coming upon a half-witted Indian and four or five women who had not gone off with the others, the soldiers seized these and took

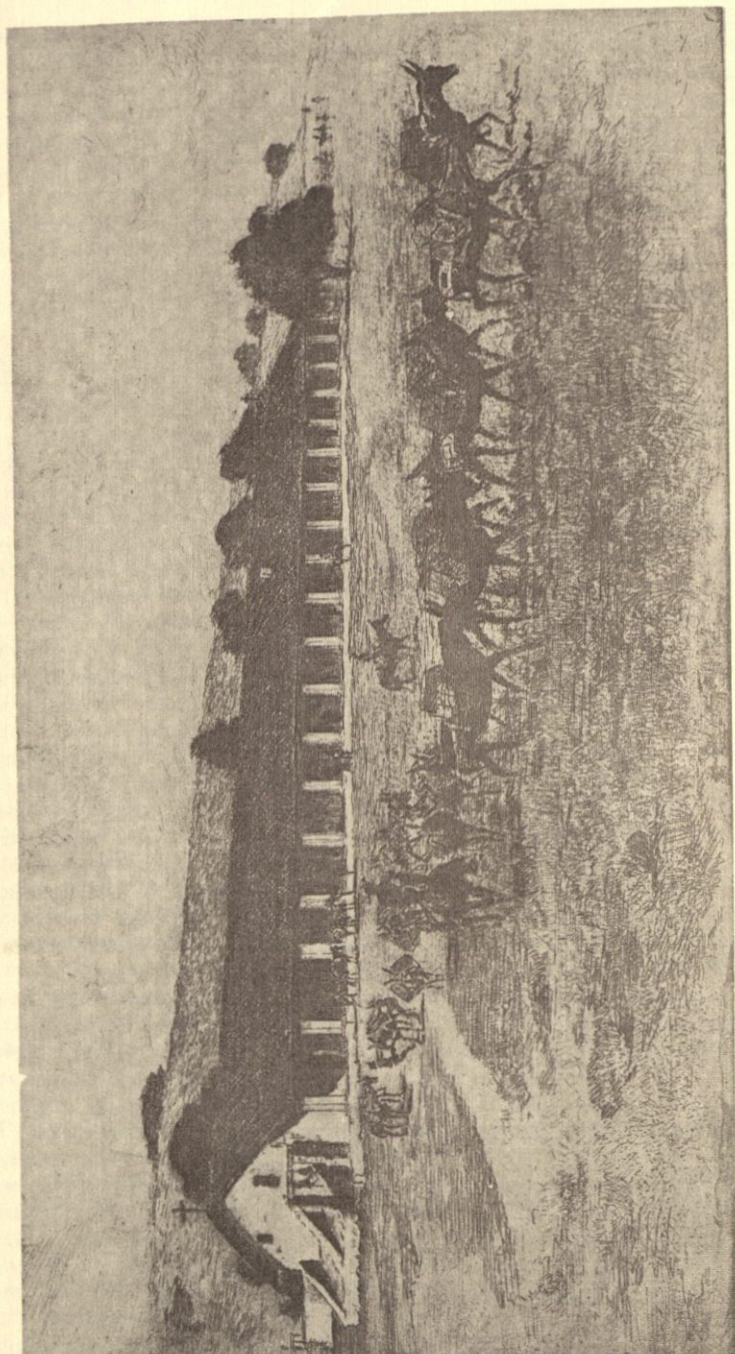
them off to the Presidio. Later, four old men, who at Dos Pueblos had heard of the disturbance in Santa Barbara and had come thither to see what it was about, fell in with a band of soldiers and were killed.

The main body of the Indians, who had retreated up Mission Canyon, continued their retreat and, crossing the mountain ranges, eventually arrived at the "Tulares", the flat region surrounding the present Tulare Lake. Captain De la Guerra sent a considerable company of soldiers in pursuit of these fugitives, to catch them and to bring them back to their quarters near the Mission. At San Emigdio, two encounters took place, in which four Indians were killed and a number of men on each side were wounded. After this inconclusive fighting, the whites returned to the Presidio, in Santa Barbara. Now

Because the Indians were essential to the economy of the two communities, efforts to bring them back to the Mission were continued. Governor Arguello tried to enlist Padre Ripoll in the matter, but this conscientious missionary refused to accompany the soldiers in a new expedition to the Tulares on the grounds that, were he to be seen with the troops, the Indians would assume that he had deserted them and his influence with them would be at an end. Instead, he besought the Governor to issue a full pardon in favor of the Indians. When Arguello fell in with this suggestion, and when he issued such a pardon, Padre Ripoll joined the new expedition to the Tulares and, largely through his efforts, in June, the Indians were induced to return to their former quarters and to take up their duties there.

While all this was transpiring, Governor Arguello sent a considerable force from Monterey to Mission Purisima Concepcion to reduce the rebel Indians there to a proper state of submission. On arrival there, these men surrounded the Mission buildings and the fighting was begun. In this contest, the Indians, though at the outset they yelled their defiance and fired their muskets and cannon, were at a hopeless disadvantage because nothing in their character or their training fitted them for this kind of struggle. Soon after the commencement of the fighting, they lost heart and attempted to flee up the valley from the protection of their adobe walls. Finding that the way of escape was barred by mounted men, they besought Padre Rodriguez to intercede for them and to arrange a surrender. This was done by the missionary, and the now thoroughly cowed Indians laid down the arms that they had not the skill or the character to use effectively.

As an aftermath of this conflict, seven Indians were shot as murderers, four were sentenced to 10 years of hard labor at the Presidio, and then to permanent banishment, and eight others were condemned to the Presidio for eight years. The Padres were outraged by the severity of this punishment, for they held that the pardon promised by the Governor had been a general one and that, as such, it should have protected these unfortunate men. The Governor, on the other hand, was dissatisfied with the outcome because, in his opinion, the punishment had not been of sufficient severity. Either way, the insurrection, taken as a whole, advanced the Indians by a long stride toward final extinction.



Purisima Mission, etching by Edward Borein.

CHAPTER FIVE

After years of agitation and revolutionary fighting, New Spain, or Mexico, declared her independence from the Spanish King; and, in 1823, when it seemed likely that the Holy Alliance would attempt to restore Spanish authority throughout Latin America, President Monroe sent his famous message to the American Congress, in which the so-called Monroe Doctrine was set forth in exact terms. This Doctrine, which declared that the United States would regard as an unfriendly act any attempt by a European power to extend its political system to any part of the Western Hemisphere, to all practical purposes guaranteed the continuing independence of all former Spanish colonies in the new world. With no experience in self-rule and, therefore, with no aptitude for it, southern and western portions of North America experienced a tremendous surge of "democracy".

In Mexico, in 1824, after a newly written constitution had been put in force, the Congress passed a law banishing from Mexico all those who refused to take the oath of allegiance to this constitution. (In California, all but two of the Padres refused to take this oath.) In 1827, all Spaniards, that is, all men and women who had been born in Spain, who were under 60 years of age, were required to leave the country within six months. Those Spaniards, who had Mexican wives were excluded from the operation of this drastic law. (Actually, the law never was enforced except in a hit or miss fashion, or as some politician, momentarily in power, wished to rid himself of certain of his opponents.)

In Alta California, now a province of Mexico, elections were held and, for the one and only time, the Indians of the Mission communities were permitted to vote. In another election, which was held by order of Governor Echeandia in San Diego in February, 1827, the electors unanimously chose Jose de la Guerra, of Santa Barbara, to represent California for a two year term in the congress recently organized in Mexico City. This much respected and widely experienced officer made the long and difficult journey to the Capitol to take up his legislative duties but, on arrival there, he was denied a seat in the Congress on the ground that he was Spanish born.

After his return to his home in Santa Barbara from this futile trip, Jose de la Guerra now found that he was required, at least nominally, to surrender his military authority. (Alfred Robinson gives Don Romauldo Pacheco, a Mexican who had arrived in California in 1825, as the Comandante at this time.)

At the time of De la Guerra's return from Mexico City, there were about 40 soldiers in the actual garrison at the Presidio and, in addition to these, there were squads of four or five men under corporals as guards at each of the six Missions, San Gabriel, San Fernando, San Buenaventura, Santa Barbara, Santa Ines, and Purisima Concepcion, which were subject to the authority of the Comandante. The Pueblo of Santa Barbara, which included the Presidio, consisted of about 500 whites, "Gente de Razon", and about 700 neophytes and pagan Indians, who were not classed as "people of reason" by the whites.

As a result of the 1827 legislation, on January 23rd, 1828, Fray Ripoll, of Santa Barbara Mission, and Fray Altimira, of San Buenaventura Mission, both Spaniards, after quietly quitting their posts, left on the American brig "Harbinger" and were seen no more in the Channel Area. It is probable that De la Guerra paid their passage fares, for they took with them only food for the journey.

In this unhappy way there were ushered into California two decades of uncertainty and, at times, even armed conflict. In the end, the situation became so nearly intolerable that such leaders as General Vallejo, seeing no hope in the future under Mexican rule for a stable government, looked forward with active interest to the day when some foreign power, either the United States or Great Britain or some other, would intervene and would take possession of the province. It became widely recognized that Mexico, herself in almost continuous political turmoil, was unable to do more than to exert a nominal control over this remote province.

At this time, the term "Alta California", because the two great, inland valleys, the Sacramento and the San Joaquin, were all but unknown in detail of terrain, was a narrow ribbon of missions, pueblos, and presidios, connected one to another by a somewhat indefinitely marked path, or trail, that bore the sonorous title of "El Camino Real". (It was only on the much used, level stretches that this way could be termed a road.) At the southern extremity of the ribbon was San Diego, and at the extreme northern end, perhaps 600 English miles from San Diego, was Yerba Buena, on the magnificent bay discovered by Sergeant Ortega when Portola was searching for Monterey. These two extremities of the long line of communities were so remote from each other that there was little intercourse of any kind between them. More than this, because of climatic and other major differences, their interests and needs were not the same; and so they were held together in a common political allegiance by the most tenuous of bonds. Small groups of politicians in both areas wished to dominate the entire Province, and each group felt that the capitol should be located permanently in its area. In the almost constant conflicts between the two areas, which sometimes culminated in open, armed clashes, the balance fell momentarily one way or the other. The Channel Area, lying as it did about at the midpoint geographically, took little active interest in any of these controversies. Because Santa Barbara was the midpoint, however, it sometimes happened that it was here that the rival forces came to grips.

In 1829, a conflict occurred between the North and the South that can be taken as one typical of many others. In the late Fall of the year, an ex-convict by the name of Solis, that is to say, a convict who came to California in a cadre of so-called soldiers, was able to bring together a group of brother soldiers and to set out to reduce the entire Province to his authority. This was an easy matter to accomplish because these so-called presidio soldiers had been living in neglect and without pay for many months, even for years; and their grievances were real. Both the Monterey and the San Francisco garrison declared for Solis. On their way toward the South, where was Governor Echeandia, these "mutinous" soldiers stopped at the missions along the way and, perforce, were entertained and supplied from the mission store houses.

On the receipt of news of this mutiny, the Governor gathered about him what troops were available and set out from San Diego for the north.

The garrison at Santa Barbara declared for Solis and then, thinking that their decision had been taken too hastily, reversed themselves and returned to their "proper" allegiance, that is, they declared for Echeandia.

The Governor arrived at Santa Barbara well ahead of Solis and prepared to give battle here. The Missions of the area were ordered to send to the "loyalist" army every man capable of bearing arms and whatever of horses and provisions were available.

When Solis and his partisans arrived in the area, he began the battle by the issuance of a proclamation in which he summoned the Governor to surrender. Governor Echeandia, from the partial security of the Presidio, answered with a proclamation that offered full pardon to all of the rebels, save only the leaders and instigators, who would return to their former allegiance. The next day, Solis issued another proclamation. By this time, most of the townspeople had left their homes in the Pueblo and had sought safety within the Presidio; and the remainder, as many as thirty women, had been taken by small boat through the surf to the deck of a vessel that happened to be lying at anchor in the harbor.

The two forces came face to face at Cieneguitas, a marshy area between low, rolling hills some three or four miles west of the Pueblo and not far from the place where the Padres had built one of their outlying chapels. Unwilling to seek a decision in the open, the loyalists, under the command of Lieutenant Pacheco, immediately turned about and beat a somewhat precipitous retreat to the protection offered by the thick walls of the fort. After this retreat, there was some firing of cannon, but it was without visible damage to either side. Eventually, however, as the battle wore on, a horse was struck and killed.

After three days of this sort of fighting, Solis exhausted his supplies of ammunition and of food. His supply of proclamations, also, may have become depleted. At any rate, he gave up the battle as lost and began a retreat to the northward. He was followed at a safe distance by the victors. As the retreat progressed, the mutineers began to desert their leader and to scatter over the countryside; and so, in the end, the revolt collapsed. Solis was captured near Monterey. To history, this affair is known as "The Battle of Santa Barbara".

To the Americans of the community, this affair seemed to be comic rather than serious. One of these, a Dr. Anderson, even went so far as to write a friend in Monterey that the cannon balls discharged from the Presidio had so little force behind them that the men without the fort were able to stop them easily and without harm to themselves.

The political uncertainty and turmoil of this 20-year period, of which the Solis episode is a fair example, had results in the domestic economy that were decisive in shaping affairs in the Province for many years in the future. One of these results had to do with the rapid growth of land grants, usually of immense size, that were to be made. Each new governor, when he came to power by appointment of the politicians in far away Mexico City or by armed conflict, found himself beset by so many hostile localities and factions that he keenly felt the need of active supporters upon whose aid he could count in times of emergency. The easiest and the cheapest way for him to gain these partisans, it was obvious, was to make large grants of land to men of influence. To be sure, all such grants, to be valid, had to be referred

to and ratified by the Territorial Assembly; but such action seldom was sought by the grantees. In a province where unused land was all but limitless, very few people indeed bothered about the small details of the grants.

In most instances, the certificates, or deeds, of the granting governors were accepted at their face value and, though known to be technically imperfect, were placed by the recipients in some convenient box or chest in the adobe houses that were built on the new ranchos, and then they soon were forgotten. The public records were kept in much the same casual fashion. When there was a successful uprising and the capitol was changed from north to south, or visa versa, or when the governor-of-the-moment changed his residence, the public records might or might not be moved along with the person of the governor. As the long, careless years passed, many of these important papers and records became damaged or were lost or destroyed outright. Presently, it came to pass that the best claim that an owner had to the land on which he dwelt was the known fact of his long tenancy upon that land.

Another direct result of the change from a paternal to a so-called democratic system of government was the reduction of the Missions and the stripping of them of the wealth that the Padres, with patient, almost selfless, labor had been able to accumulate in the half century of their prosperity. The method by which this was done was called "Secularization". That it spelled the final degradation of the Indians can not be gainsaid.

There were at least two principle causes for the desire of so many men for the reduction of the Missions. One of these was the growing conviction on the part of many responsible officials both in Mexico and in California that the whole mission experiment had been a costly failure, that it had not served the purposes that had been expected of it at its inception. At the outset, it was alleged, it had been hoped that the Indians would be converted to the doctrines of the Church, would be taught useful skills, and would be transformed from undisciplined savages to useful subjects of the King in a short period of time, perhaps in as short a time as 10 years. After a half century of effort, these overly optimistic hopes had been fulfilled only in smallest part. The neophytes were not capable of assuming the duties of ordinary citizens within organized pueblos, and the death rate among them was rising every year.

A second and more compelling cause of the steadily growing hostility to the Missions, especially on the part of the military, was the obvious and distressing contrast between the wealth of the Missions and the poverty of the Presidios and the Pueblos. Once the protection of the King was withdrawn and the soldiers and the paisanos were given the ballot, it was only a matter of time until the stripping of the Missions became an accomplished fact.

In 1808, a decade and one-half before the declaration of Mexican independence, Viceroy Marino had ordered the Guardian of San Fernando College (in Mexico) to instruct the Indian converts in the mission communities in the principles of citizenship. Four years later, in the so-called Spanish Constitution of 1812, it had been declared that all men were politically equal and that they were to have a voice in the government of Mexico. The next year, the Spanish Cortes issued a decree requiring the immediate secularization of all the missions that had been in operation for 10 years.

In California, this decree of the Cortes was not put into immediate effect. In 1820, it was confirmed by King Ferdinand and, the next year, was pro-

claimed in Mexico by Viceroy Benadito. It still was not made operative in California, however. It may have been that the scarcity of curates, or even their complete lack, to replace the Franciscan missionaries was in large measure responsible for this failure of enforcement.

By the declaration of Mexican independence, 1822, the political situation was changed radically and for the worse. In the ensuing two and one-half decades, during the terms of the next 13 governors,²² most of whose names appear in the modern Santa Barbara as the names of streets, public affairs in Alta California suffered a steady deterioration; for these governors were not men of high caliber or of particularly broad points of view.

This rapid succession of governors, with each new regime having little or nothing in common with the one that preceded it, made any continuity of policy or of purpose impossible; and so it happened that the degree to which secularization was pressed depended largely upon the personal point of view of the man in office at any particular moment. As examples of this fact, Arguello and Echeandia were so-called liberals; and they pressed for rapid secularization. Echeandia was followed by Manuel Victoria, a conservative, who was in blood one-half Indian. Victoria was a friend of the Padres and, as such, he was opposed to secularization. At about this time, because there had been a swing away from the liberals, Carlos Carrillo, California's "diputado" to the Congress in Mexico City, opposed secularization to such good purpose that he was able to defeat the plan of the liberals for the confiscation of the Pious Fund.²³

General Jose Figueroa, who followed Victoria after a brief interval, was of Aztec origins, and his chief interests lay in building up the defense of the Province militarily and in its further colonization. During the decade between 1830 and 1840, there was an increasingly large flow of colonists into Alta California. Some of these men and women and children came from Mexico as colonists, and others came as soldiers (for the most part, the soldiers were recruited from the lowest classes—many of them were convicts of the most degraded sort); and still others, in ever increasing numbers, came from the United States and from Europe as settlers into the lower reaches of the Sacramento Valley.

As a part of this great colonizing movement, in 1833, Lieutenant Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo formed settlements at Petaluma and Santa Rosa with colonists, both Indian and paisano, from Monterey and San Francisco. At the same time, a group of colonists of sound character, 204 individuals in all, under the leadership of Jose Maria Padres and Jose Maria Hajar, set out from Mexico for California. This group was to be financed from the Pious Fund, and it was authorized to take possession of all of the property of all the missions in both Californias.

The lot of the newly come farmers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and so on, was not a happy one. They were gathered together under an alcalde at a point to the north of San Francisco (near San Francisco Solano) where they might serve as a buffer to the further encroachment of the Russians at Bodega Bay, and the two leaders were stripped of most of their high sounding titles. When a revolt flared in Los Angeles, in March, some of the colonists became heavily involved. In the end, by order of Governor Figueroa, both Padres and Hajar were arrested and banished from the Province. The colonists dispersed throughout the Province. One of the men of this group, Augustin

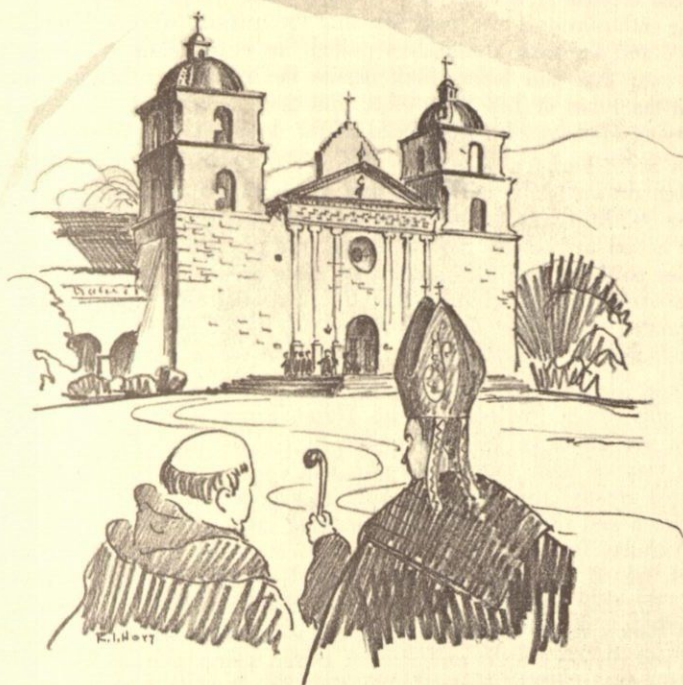
Janssens, with the passing of the years, was to become so respected a leader that he was given command of all the troops in the Santa Barbara Area when Colonel Fremont, at the head of the California Battalion, in 1846, approached the community from the north.

Rather early in the 20-year period of turmoil and revolt and revolution, it became evident that the leader or party or cause, call it what you will, that could attract to its banner the greatest number of American immigrants and transient residents was certain of success. In this way, Americans played an ever increasing role in the affairs of the Province. In the winter of 1845, however, when Micheltorena faced Alvarado at Cahuenga, there came a startling development in this trend: both leaders had recruited a considerable number of Americans. On the first day of the "battle", there was some ineffectual artillery fire at long range. The next day, there was further noisy firing of the cannon. Then the Americans in the ranks of Alvarado made contact with their compatriots of the Micheltorena persuasion and, after a conference of the leaders, it was agreed between them that the fight was none of theirs. The withdrawal of the Americans was decisive. Finding himself all but helpless, Micheltorena surrendered to Alvarado and the "war" ended. After this episode, it was evident to every observant man in California that it was only a matter of time until the dominant Americans took affairs into their own hands.

During the first decade of this period of disorder, after the overthrow of Victoria, Echeandia pressed for the secularization of the missions. To this end, comisionados were appointed who were to take over the management of four of the southern missions. The lands of these missions were to be given to those of the neophytes who seemed to be deserving of them, the Indian group attached to each mission was to be organized as a parish with a secular priest responsible for its spiritual well-being, and the costs of these drastic changes were to be borne by drafts on the Pious Fund. Figueroa, who followed Echeandia, when he assumed the duties of the governorship, continued and even enlarged on this mission policy of his predecessor. By the beginning of 1835, nine missions, of which number Santa Barbara was one, had been secularized. By the end of this year, the number of secularized missions had increased to 15.

In 1836, California was designated as an independent diocese by the Mexican government, and Fray Francisco Garcia Diego, president of the Zacatecans in Baja California, was approved as Bishop. As a part of this plan, Bishop Diego was to be entrusted with the handling of the Pious Fund.

The coming to Santa Barbara of this high dignitary of the Church, Bishop Diego, was a noteworthy event in the history of the bucolic community, perhaps the most noteworthy of all that had occurred up to this time. The event was anticipated with almost feverish excitement by the devout of Santa Barbara from the time it became known that such an event was in prospect. The excitement was greatly increased on the 16th of December, 1841, when a courier arrived from San Diego with the tidings that the new Bishop and his party, among which were several priests, three school mistresses, and four novitiates, had arrived at the southern port on board a bark sailing from San Blas. This intelligence was greeted with a considerable demonstration: guns were fired, bells were rung, skyrockets were shot into the air, and the local band played loud and long.



The coming to Santa Barbara of Reverend Bishop Francisco Garcia Diego.

In due time, the schooner "Leonidas" came into port with the glad news that the Bishop already had embarked at San Diego in the bark "Guipuzcoana" and would be in Santa Barbara shortly.

The owner of this bark, Don Antonio Aguirre, recently had been married in San Diego, and now he was returning to Santa Barbara with his bride to a house that he had had constructed for her here. Courteously, he had invited Bishop Diego to complete his long journey to the new episcopal see in the Guipuzcoana. The Bishop, for his part, had been glad to accept this invitation.

The Guipuzcoana came into the Santa Barbara roadway on January 11th, and, throughout the early morning hours, it lay becalmed and rolling in the swells. An attendant of the Bishop's was put into a small boat and was rowed ashore so that he might bring to the clergy at the Mission the news that the Bishop had arrived at the town. At this, the entire populace hurried to the shore and waited there for the breeze to freshen sufficiently to bring the bark to the anchorage in the harbor.

The Bishop came ashore through the surf about 11 o'clock that morning and was greeted reverently by the kneeling Barbareños, but Don Antonio's bride elected to remain on board the bark until the afternoon. With great rejoicing, the Bishop was taken to the new Aguirre house for the midday meal; and then, in a carriage drawn by selected horses, he was

taken on to the Mission. On the way, he passed through floral arches that had been erected in his honor by the women of the community. So great was the enthusiasm of the populace that the horses were unhitched from the carriage and the men themselves pulled the vehicle up the road. Arriving at a bower that had been built beside the road for his use, the Bishop donned the robes of his high office and then, amid the firing of guns and the playing of music, he proceeded to the door of the Mission.

As Santa Barbara was to be the official residence of the Bishop, plans had been drawn for a cathedral and a school of theology here. The costs of these buildings was to be borne by drafts on the Pious Fund. Stimulated by the actual arrival of Bishop Diego, the people set about the gathering of stones, so that a beginning could be made on these projects. At this point, news arrived from Mexico to the effect that the Dictator, Santa Ana, had appropriated the Pious Fund for his own uses; and so the work on the two buildings, so enthusiastically begun, had to be discontinued.

Under the governorship of Pio Pico, missionary affairs reached their lowest ebb. When Prefect Narciso Duran learned that the Santa Barbara Mission was about to be sold to the highest bidder, he went to Nicholas Den, a man of Irish extraction who had come to Santa Barbara and had prospered greatly, and besought him, as a good son of the Church, to buy the Mission and so to save it from passing into alien hands. Moved by this plea, Nicholas Den and his brother, a doctor and a man of affairs in Los Angeles, rented the Mission lands from Governor Pico for 100 dollars a month. By this arrangement, the Den Brothers obtained the large San Marcos Ranch, in the Santa Ines Valley, as a range for their extensive cattle herds; and Bishop Diego and Prefect Duran were allowed to continue their use of the Mission Buildings. In the end, Dr. Den bought the Mission from Governor Pico, though the latter's legal right to make such a sale was denied by all churchmen, for the sum of \$7,500 in gold. After California passed out of the control of Mexico and into the American Union, the Supreme Court of the United States declared this and other similar transactions were illegal, and the Mission property was restored to the Franciscans.

By these means, Bishop Diego and Prefect Duran were allowed to live on in their quarters in the Mission buildings for the short time that remained to them. Bishop Diego died in May, 1846; and Prefect Duran died the following month. For the moment, the Presidio-Pueblo had been completely successful in its struggle of three-quarters of a century with the Mission. The Indians of the Santa Barbara Region, as well as those in most other regions of the Province where the Spaniards had taken possession of the land, had all but disappeared from the scene.

CHAPTER SIX

Early on the morning of October 24th, 1842, Santa Barbarans were awakened by the startling news, brought from the north by a "courier violente", that an American squadron under the command of Commodore Jones had taken possession of Monterey, had raised the American flag over the customs house there, and had declared the Province to be annexed to the United States. This report caused great excitement in the little community. The few Americans who were in the town were besieged by the Barbareños with questions about the treatment that would be accorded them when the American ships came down from the north and took possession of Santa Barbara. These agitated people were assured that all would be kindly treated and that none would be disturbed in his person or religion or possessions. There was some small amount of hotheaded and irresponsible talk of resistance to the invaders; but every well informed person, especially those who had seen how helpless had been the Province under the attacks of Bouchard and Corney, knew that such resistance to the well organized and heavily armed forces of the United States was impossible; and so nothing came of this foolish talk. It was recognized, also, that in an emergency of the present magnitude, the crumbling walls of the Presidio would be valueless.

The next day, a second courier arrived with the information that the seizure of the Capitol had been a mistake, one that had been based on a false report that had come from the south to the American squadron to the effect that war had broken out between the United States and Mexico. When it was learned from a second report that the peace still held along the Rio Grande del Norte, the Mexican flag had been returned to its place on the flag pole at Monterey, apologies had been given and accepted, and a state of complete harmony and friendliness now prevailed between Commodore Jones and the Mexican officials at the Capitol.

The only lasting effect of this precipitate action on the part of the American seamen seems to have been the conviction that it put into the minds of thoughtful Californios throughout the Province that it now was only a matter of time until the Province would be seized permanently by the United States forces. To many men, this prospect was not an altogether unwelcome one.

With the coming of Colonel Fremont and his company of so-called topographical engineers to the lower Sacramento Valley in 1845 and with his subsequent marchings and counter marchings Santa Barbarans had little concern. The Governor, Pio Pico, was in residence here at this time and, of course, he was kept posted in a general way with what went on at the northern end of the long line of settlements; but there is little evidence to show that he exerted himself strenuously either in favor or against this probable invasion of the Province's sovereignty.

It seems to be likely that on this trip, Colonel Fremont had planned to spend the winter in rest and recuperation in Santa Barbara; but that he was ordered out of the Province first by Comandante-General Jose Castro and then by Prefect Manuel Castro; and so he was unable to carry out this plan.

After Monterey was seized by Commodore Sloat, this time permanently, Colonel Fremont was sent by boat with the forces he had raised in the lower Sacramento Valley to take part in the seizure of the Pueblo of Los Angeles. When this seizure had been accomplished, he set out for the north by way of El Camino Real. Pausing briefly at Santa Barbara,²⁴ he established here a guard of 10 men under Lieutenant Talbot; and then he proceeded on his way northward toward Monterey. At this time, it was assumed by all the high ranking officers in the American forces that the seizure of California was complete and that there would be no further difficulties as far as active opposition to American rule was concerned.

When, because of the severities of the Gillespie Regime and its lack of sympathy for the Californios, the Flores Revolt flared up in Los Angeles and spread rapidly over all of Southern California, Talbot and his men were forced to flee from Santa Barbara and to make their difficult way northward over the mountains and down the Valley to Monterey; and Colonel Fremont, at the head of his California Battalion, was obliged to return to Southern California.

Up to the moment of the outbreak of this Flores Revolt, the 10 Americans who constituted the "Guard" in Santa Barbara lived quietly and on the best of terms with the Barbarenos. Then, suddenly and unexpectedly, word was brought to them not only of the Revolt but also of the fact that a considerable body of mounted Californios was on its way to take possession of Santa Barbara. Talbot was advised that his life and the lives of all the men of the Guard were forfeited and so to flee northward at once. The Americans were reluctant to act on this advice. Instead, they established themselves in an adobe building and waited to see what would transpire.

About 150 horsemen presently surrounded the little band of Americans in their tiny, makeshift fort, and demanded their surrender. Though advised by their friends amongst the townspeople, that resistance was useless, the Americans did not at once comply with this demand. Neither side, however, was in a hurry to begin fighting; and so there was a period of a few hours of parley and negotiation. After darkness fell, the 10 men, slipping out of their adobe fort, made their way to Mission Canyon and, by the light of the full moon, began the rough climb up the mountain wall to the north of the town.

Being unwilling to start on the long and difficult march to Monterey until they were compelled to do so, for eight days they remained on the mountainside in the hope that a vessel of some kind would come into the Channel and succor them. For sustenance, they ate anything and everything that fell into their hands: pods from the wild rose bushes, the flesh of a very old, white horse that they were able to capture at the outskirts of the town one night when they descended the mountain wall in search of food, and the very small supplies that they had been able to bring with them from the adobe fort.

The Californios, for their part, did everything in their power to harass the Americans except to rush their camp. Riding near the places of concealment, they yelled their taunts at their enemies. They even set fire to the brush in the hope of burning out the Americans. But they were careful to keep out of musket range, for they feared the marksmanship of the ten.

At last, seeing that they might starve to death if they remained much longer on the mountainside, the Americans climbed to the top of the range and then dropped down into the Santa Ines Valley. Near the river bed, they came on an old vaquero, a former soldier, who befriended them and guided them across the remaining mountains to the Tulares. Eventually, they reached Fremont in Monterey.

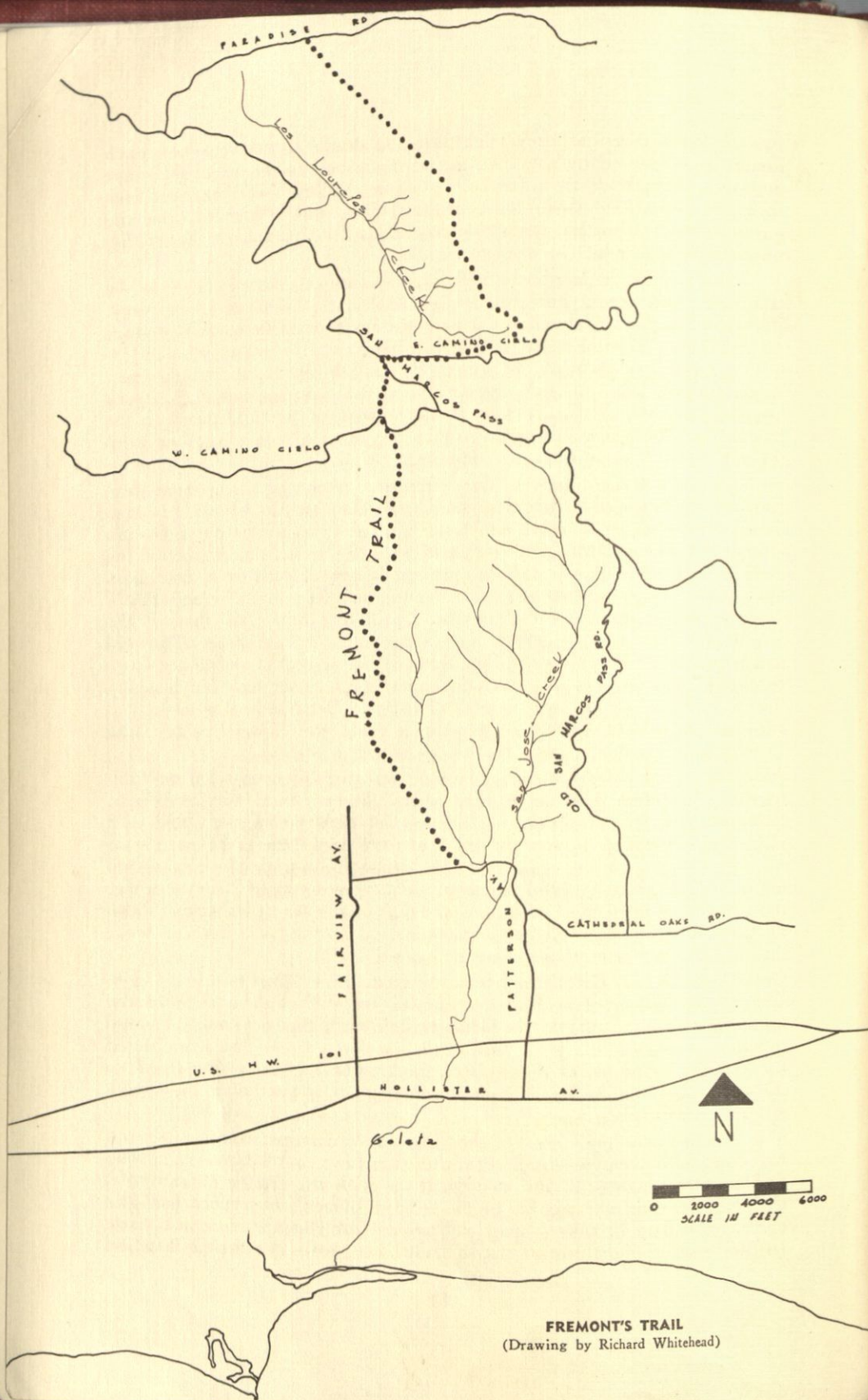
At this point, it might be well to emphasize the obvious fact that the conquest of California had been placed wholly in the hands of the Navy. Though Commodore Stockton was narrowly limited in the number of ships at his disposal, he did have an adequate force with which to seize and to hold the principle ports of the region. He was wholly unprepared, however, to send expeditions into the interior and on foot to cope with such superb horsemen as were the Californios. It was because of this inadequacy on the part of the Navy that Colonel Fremont and his California Battalion were thrust into such prominence at this time.

As Fremont marched on Santa Barbara from the north, there were four approaches open to him: he could reach the town by way of the coast, using the route that Portola had taken when that officer set out from San Diego in search of Monterey. He could cross the mountains by way of the little used "Gaviota Pass" and then proceed eastward along the coastal plain. He could cross by way of the higher and more often used "Refugio Pass". And he could cross the mountains by way of an Indian trail that left the Santa Ines River near its head and ran due south up the chaparral-covered mountains to a high gap (The San Marcos Pass of today) and thence down the steep mountainside to the Indian rancherias about the "Big Slough", "Mescalitan" (the town of "Goleta" of today). Because he was in need of supplies and horses, which he thought he could get in the Upper Santa Ines Valley, Fremont chose the last described route.

In Santa Barbara, Augustin Janssens was put in command of the Californios with instructions to do what he thought best in the way of defense. Because the Californios were not riflemen but rather horsemen armed with riatas and lances, Janssens thought that there was little to be gained for him by bringing on an encounter with men noted for their marksmanship on the rough, brush-covered mountain top or in some narrow canyon where the peculiar skills of the Californios would be of the least advantage to them. In the end, it was decided not to make a stand in the Santa Barbara Area; and so Fremont entered the town unopposed.

The California Battalion crossed the Santa Ines Range in a heavy rain-storm. Climbing up Las Laureles Canyon, on the northern slope of the mountains, in many places the Indian trail through the chapparal was found to be too narrow to allow passage of the wheeled vehicles that accompanied the Battalion; and so, at these places, much work had to be done to widen the path. (Some of the stone work, the shoring up of the trail on the canyon side, still is in place.)

Coming over the crest of the ridge on Christmas morning, the full force of the southeaster struck them with such fury that horses were blinded and forward progress all but stopped. It was with the greatest difficulty that the steep descent was made. In the steepest places, the wagons and gun carriages had to be taken apart and lowered on ropes, a piece at a time. In this crossing of the mountains, so many horses were lost that the Battalion



FREMONT'S TRAIL
(Drawing by Richard Whitehead)

was all but horseless when the men reached the bottom of the grade and made camp. Fremont records that their equipment was strewn in the wildest disorder along the trail for miles. In his mind, it seemed more like the path of a routed army that had cast away its equipment as it fled from the pursuing enemy than like that of a triumphant battalion about to enter an important city.

Once lodged in the town, the Battalion spent the next fortnight in re-assembling and cleaning its gear and in securing and breaking new mounts. The reception given to the Americans by the townspeople seems to have been a cordial one. At any rate, it was not an openly hostile one.

According to one version of an incident that now occurred, which has come down to us from an eye-witness, the American flag was raised first of all in the plaza in front of the De la Guerra House. Three days later, it was raised in front of the Alpheus Thompson House (the two story adobe structure with the round corners on State Street that today is designated by a bronze plaque appropriately inscribed). Another and more widely credited version of this important and historic event is silent on that part of the story that deals with the flag raising in front of the De la Guerra House. Whichever is the correct account of the event, the implication is obvious in both that, by this time, the Presidio had outlived its usefulness and that the Pueblo now possessed another center, or several other centers, of first importance.

While many historians have shown little interest in the details of this brief occupation of Santa Barbara, Fremont relates that it was here that a lady, Barnarda Ruiz, came to his headquarters with a plan for the pacification of California. By this plan, terms of peace of so generous a nature were to be offered by Colonel Fremont to General Flores that they could be accepted by the Californios generally without bitterness or imposed penalties. As this lady was a person of great influence in Southern California, Fremont at once accepted the plan, along with her offer of help in putting it into effect. In his view, this was the origin of the "Capitulation of Cahuenga", by which instrument the Flores Revolt was brought to an end.

After this necessary pause at Santa Barbara, the California Battalion continued its march to the south and east by way of the Rincon. As it had been feared that the Californios would make a stand here to contest the passage of this very narrow part of El Camino Real, one of the ships of Commodore Stockton's small fleet met Fremont here for the purpose of lending his forces whatever of aid lay in the power of the Navy to give. Happily, all the forces of Flores were concentrated farther to the southeast, and so the Battalion was able to march to San Buenaventura without untoward incident.

During its first days, though land prices tended to rise somewhat, the change of sovereignty from Mexican to American made little difference in the affairs of the Barbareños. Life for them now went on very much as it had done a year or two, or 10 years, earlier. In 1836, when Richard Dana had returned to the town after a cruise to other ports of the then Province, he had written in his diary: "Santa Barbara looked very much as it did when I left it five months before: the long beach, with the heavy rollers, breaking upon it in a continual roar, the little town imbedded in the plain, girt by its amphitheater of mountains. Day after day, the sun shone clear and bright

upon the wide bay and the red roofs of the houses; everything being as still as death, the people hardly seeming to earn their sunshine. Daylight actually seemed thrown away upon them".

More than two decades after this visit of Dana's and after the Province had become an unorganized territory of the United States, William Manley, passing through the town on his way from Los Angeles to mines back of Sacramento, was so little impressed by what he saw in the community that he made the single observation that "the material of the houses was sundried brick . . . A man came along, rode right into a door, turned around and rode out again. The floor was so hard that the horse's feet made no impression on it."

When the three companies of Colonel Stevenson's Regiment came to Santa Barbara as a garrison, life within the community quickened somewhat. This regiment was composed of men who had been enlisted in the East for duty in California. It was understood at the start that, when their term of service ran out, they would be mustered out of the army in California. (By this scheme two needs of prime importance were met: the new territory of California was adequately garrisoned and the number of Americans there was largely increased. The plan was put into operation sometime before Marshall discovered gold in his millrace, and so the War Department could not possibly have foreseen the Gold Rush of '49 and '50.)

Though the commanding officer of these three companies did his best to treat the Barbareños kindly and with as little restraint as was possible, minor difficulties and misunderstandings inevitably arose from time to time. The most famous of these had to do with a small ship's cannon, whose sole use had been to fire salutes, that had been brought ashore and left on the sand of the beach. For some time it lay there neglected and, perhaps, forgotten. Then, men noticed that it no longer was to be seen. When the disappearance was reported to the officer, he was much disturbed. Though the gun was known to be worthless as a weapon of war, it was a cannon. As such, the officer's orders required him to take note of its disappearance. He, therefore, demanded that it be returned to him. When this was not done, and when no one could be found who would admit of any knowledge of its whereabouts, a fine of \$500 was levied against the community as a whole. This incident, more amusing than serious, gave names to, at least, two of the city's streets. "Canon Perdido" and "Quinientos".

When it became clear, as it soon did, that three companies of soldiers was a much larger garrison for easy-going Santa Barbara than was needed, two of these companies were sent south for duty in Lower, or Baja, California. The men of the remaining company, when their term of enlistment expired, were mustered out of the service in Santa Barbara.

CHAPTER SEVEN

When the first gold was discovered by John Marshall in what was to become known as the Mother Lode Country, undue excitement was not aroused by it in the settlers in and about San Francisco and Sacramento and Monterey. For one reason, there was much more interest in quicksilver, or mercury, than there was in gold at this time and in this locality.²⁵ For another, gold had been discovered in the San Fernando Valley many years earlier and, ever since that time, mines had been worked there by miners from Sonora, Mexico. The amount of the precious metal taken from these San Fernando mines annually had not been great. It had been of enough importance, however, to condition men's minds to the fact that there was gold to be found in Alta California. The northern strike, when it first was made, was thought to be of about the same richness as had been the southern one.

When it became certain that an immense deposit of gold had been discovered in the Sierra Nevada foothills, the "rush" to the "diggings" set in and grew in volume with every passing week. Even far removed, easy-going Santa Barbara was caught up in the excitement and, for a while, it seemed as if every able bodied man in the Channel Area had been drawn to Sacramento and beyond. When William Manley passed through the Area in 1849, he set down in his notebook the observation that he saw only women, Indians, and dogs in Santa Barbara and nearby Santa Ines. In a year or two, conditions returned to a more normal tempo, yet there lingered on in the minds of men the conviction that quick wealth was to be had in "mines"; and so, for at least a half century, promoters were able to interest men with small amounts of money for investment in one wildcat mining venture after another.

In 1850, as a consequence of the immense number of men who had surged into the newly acquired Territory in search of adventure and quick wealth, California was admitted into the Union as the 31st State: and at once the work of organization of the smaller political subdivisions began.

The entire Channel Area, all the land lying between San Luis Obispo County on the northwest and Los Angeles County on the southeast, was formed into Santa Barbara County, with the City of Santa Barbara designated as the County Seat. The various city and county officers were elected. As one studies the names of these men, Supervisors, Councilmen, Sheriffs, and so on, during the next decade, it is noticeable that, while many were of American origin, a fair proportion, also, were Spanish. Obviously, the new scheme of things political had been accepted in good part by the Californios (as Fremont had hoped would be the case); and the prospects for the rapid development of the Area along republican lines were rosy.

Among the early acts of the newly formed City Council was the employment of a seaman, Captain Haley, in 1853, to lay out the streets of the community. This seemingly simple project was complicated by many unusual difficulties. Among the most important of these was the peculiar way in which the adobe houses were grouped around the Presidio, for these

houses had no common orientation. Each one had been placed without regular order in whatever spot, and with whatever relation to the points of the compass, that, at the time of its building, had seemed good to its owner.

Another of these difficulties was the fact that the Captain, though an educated and an intelligent man, lacked the instruments usually associated with the surveyor's office—he had neither tape nor chain with which to make his measurements, only the ubiquitous riata that was of one length on a cold, wet morning and of a different length on a warm, dry afternoon.

Still another problem that had to be solved before the actual work of surveying could be begun was the exact orientation at which the main street through the town should be laid out.

After due deliberation, Captain Haley decided to align the streets with the walls of the two principal houses of the Town, the De la Guerra House and the Alpheus Thompson House; and to disregard entirely the ruinous walls of the Presidio, which had a somewhat different orientation from those of the other two. The main street was to be 80 feet in width, and the side streets were to be 60 feet. The main cross street, which was to be approximately one mile from the beach, also was to have a width of 80 feet. The blocks were to be 500 feet on a side.

One of the curious results of this plan, after it was put into practice, which was to bother in a vague way many of the visitors who were to come to the City, was that it caused the cross streets to run more nearly north and south than did the main street. By their nomenclature, the main, 80-foot street and the side streets parallel to it were (and still are) supposed to run north and south. What is known today, for example, as "North Milpas Street", if the points of the compass have any significance in the matter, should be called "West Milpas Street"; and, by the same token, "South Milpas Street" should be known as "East Milpas Street".

For names for his newly laid out cross streets the Captain looked to the former governors of the Province and to men of note in the early days of the settlement. Most of these names were redolent of the old, Spanish-Mexican days and did much to preserve the atmosphere of the old days as the Town became steadily more and more Americanized.

"Mason Street", of course, was named for the first governor of the Territory. "Yanonali" was a well known chief of the Indians of this locality. "Islay", an exception to the general rule, was the name of the shrub that we today call "wild cherry"; and "Pedregosa" designated a stony place or area.

The main streets, in some measure, were named for places rather than for persons. "Anacapa" was the name of one of the Channel Islands. "Milpas" means "corn fields". "Castillo" may have meant either "the street that leads to Castle Rock" or "the street that runs under the Castle", which was the term later applied to the Dibblee House on Dibblee Hill. "Canal" meant to the Barbareños "the street that leads to the Canal, or Channel".²⁶ "Laguna", of course, was the street that originated in the Lagoon, or Estero. "De la Vina" means simply "the vines".

When these streets actually were surveyed, it was found (as had been expected would be the case) that many of them ran through buildings of one kind and another that had been in use for many years. The most notable examples of this were Santa Barbara and Canon Perdido Streets, which inter-

sected almost in the middle of the old Presidio. Many of these new streets, however, though designated on the official map of the Town, were not actually laid out on the ground for their entire length until later years and so many buildings, though condemned, were not destroyed at once. As late as 1900, for example, the intersection of Milpas and Anapamu Streets, at the base of the foothills, was a point on a trail rather than the intersection of two heavily traveled city streets.

Thus it happened that Santa Barbara was laid out as a unity, whose center was the intersection of wide Carrillo and State Streets. As a city, it was connected with other California cities by the sea.²⁷ No consideration whatever was given to through land travel, to El Camino Real, for the simple reason that there was almost no such travel.

✕ On May 24th, 1855 the "Santa Barbara Gazette" published its first issue.

Necessarily, in the first years of the new order, there were some individuals in the community with lawless tendencies;²⁸ and these had to be restrained. This was a process that went on for some years. The most vexatious problem of the period, however, had to do with the establishment of fairly drawn boundaries between plots and parcels of individually owned land; and the issuance of valid deeds to these parcels, once the boundaries had been drawn. (By the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, the United States



had guaranteed all land titles within California that had been legally acquired under Spanish and Mexican law.) In the old days, land had had little or no value. Now, it had become possessed of real value and, as a consequence, there was a scramble to become possessed of it.

To bring order into this situation, Congress established a Lands Commission, whose duty it was to hear all claims, to determine which ones were valid and which ones were fraudulent, and to record the former. All lands to which individuals could not establish valid claims were to be declared to be a part of the public domain. Because of the carelessness of the old days, both in the drawing of boundaries and in the preservation of the old deeds, and also because of the lack of public order and outright lawlessness that had prevailed throughout California for three decades, the task faced by the Commissioners was anything but a simple one.

It was recognized at the outset that mistakes would be made and that the resulting injustices would bear heavily on the fortunes of some worthy individuals and families. It was hoped that, in the main, substantial justice would be done.

As an example of one difficulty that was met often in the determining of precise boundaries, the description in the deed of the San Marcos Rancho, some 35,500 acres in the Santa Ines Valley that had been "surveyed" with a riata by men on horseback, declared the boundaries to be the San Rafael Mountains on the north, the Santa Barbara Mountains on the south, a village of very dark people on the east, and the Tequepis Rancho on the west. The title of Justinian Caire to Santa Cruz Island, to site an example of the difficulties of the landowner, at first was declared to be invalid by the Lands Commission. Years later and after prolonged litigation, the Caire title was declared to be valid by the Supreme Court of the United States.

In a situation that was as confused as was this one, it is not to be wondered at that some men, who had supposed that their titles were above questionings, were dismayed when they lost their lands to the new government;²⁹ and that others were angered when they saw the value of their holdings in large part consumed by the high legal fees that they were required to pay the American lawyers in the defense of their ranches.

In 1861, Professor Brewer, as a part of the State Legislature's ambitious attempt to survey the mineral resources of California, came to Santa Barbara and explored the county for natural wealth. His observations covered a wide variety of subjects.³⁰ He visited the hot springs back of Montecito and found the temperature of their waters to be 117°. He climbed the range above the hot springs and, after forcing his way through the thick chaparral for seven exhausting hours (Alfred Robinson, not many years before this episode, had described the range as being entirely denuded of brush by a huge fire that had swept up from San Buenaventura and even had menaced the Town itself), he reached the top of one of the peaks there. The Mission Community he described as being separate from the Town, and as lying in ruins, though the Mission Building itself still was being used by the Franciscans for religious services. He walked along the west beach for 8 or 10 miles and viewed with some wonder the great deposits of tar, or asphaltum, that he encountered there.

Most significantly, he noted in the community a considerable interest in coal mining. A company had been formed and stock had been sold on the

strength of a report that a considerable stratum, or outcropping, of coal had been located in the Santa Ines Valley in a place that was accessible to a proposed railroad. Guided by the man who had made the strike, or discovery, and who had organized the company, Brewer made the long ride by trail over the Santa Ines Mountains, to the Santa Ynes River, thence over Little Pine Mountain to Santa Cruz Creek, and thence to a spot on Peach Tree Creek where there was an outcropping of coal a quarter of an inch thick. Work had been done on this vein and about a bushel basket of chips and splinters had been gathered.

Incidentally, Brewer reported that the Barbarenos were famous as horse thieves; and so, during his stay in Santa Barbara, an armed guard was maintained every night at his camp near the beach.

The winter of 1862 seems to have been one of the wettest in the history of the Channel Region, as well as of the State as a whole. As no one in those days went to the trouble of measuring the precipitation day by day throughout the year, there is not available at this time an exact record in inches of how much rain did fall; but from letters, diaries, and other, similar papers, this winter is known to have been a very wet one indeed. There followed immediately after it the Great Drought, probably the driest period known to us.

On the County Assessor's books in the spring of 1862 there is the estimate of more than 200,000 head of cattle in Santa Barbara County. As it was customary to make assessments on the basis of 60 per cent of the whole, this figure indicates that there were well over 300,000 head of cattle on the various ranches, on which number the owners were expected to pay county taxes. When the grass appeared two years later on the flats and hills, this vast herd had shrunk to less than 5,000 animals, a loss of more than 98 per cent. The loss in other animals, horses and sheep and others, had been equally great. To most ranchers, this was a fatal blow. Never again would these men look only to cattle as the source of their wealth.

The modernization of Santa Barbara as an American community had begun almost as soon as Pio Pico surrendered his authority to Commodore Stockton. The first change that was especially noticeable appeared when frame houses of one and two stories began to be built among the small-roomed, single-storied structures made of adobe bricks. The houses of this new type of small, boxlike dwelling, in many instances surmounted by cupolas, were of a single pattern, just as were the adobes. The New England influence was very strong all along the California Coast and so here, as well as in the other far away places into which these hardy, sea faring people penetrated, houses were built after the pattern of the ones along the Rock-Bound Coast.

The lumber for these new buildings came from the north, where Americans had been quick to build saw mills along the streams in the magnificent forests of northern California and Oregon. The lumber from these mills, of necessity, came to Santa Barbara by sea, in great rafts as well as on the decks of schooners, and was landed on the beach through the surf. For heat, the families looked to the oak-wood fires in open fireplaces, a custom that was to be followed for the next half century.

Other signs of progress were the steamers that plied up and down the coast on more or less regular schedules. Brewer reports the steamers, as far

as Santa Barbara was concerned, as operating on a bi-weekly schedule. Though the passengers still had to come ashore through the surf in small boats, this regularity of schedule was a great improvement over the irregularity of movement, even the complete lack of any schedule, of the sailing ship days.

Santa Barbara still was a pastoral, small community of strongly Spanish-Mexican flavor when, a half decade after the Brewer visit, an Italian of unknown origin came here from San Luis Obispo. As was to be expected, his Italian name quickly was modified by the Spanish speaking Barbarenos to Jose Lobero; and by this sonorous appellation he was to be known for the rest of time. This man had a great talent for music and he played several instruments skillfully, especially the violin and the trombone. He also composed easily and fluently. Because of these outstanding abilities and, seemingly, without any basis in known fact whatever, it was commonly said of him that he had played in one of the great Italian orchestras, possibly had been its conductor, before he fled from his native land and came to California. Whatever his past, he shone in the society of bucolic Santa Barbara not only as a transcendent musician but also as a man of many interests and a very broad point of view.

Soon after his arrival, he began to teach the boys and young men of the community to play on the musical instruments that were available to them. In a short time, he organized these students into a band, which he himself conducted and for which he wrote much of the music that they played. To support himself, he opened a saloon in the building next to his house, on the corner of State and Canon Perdido Streets, and dispensed liquor to the thirsty. So that he might have a building in which to give concerts and to stage theatrical entertainments, often of his own composition, he borrowed enough money to enlarge a vacant school building that stood on the corner, a block to the east of his saloon. This was in 1873.

For a while, in a community that not yet was noted for its appreciation of art and artists, he was recognized as the most gifted citizen of the Town; and with this eminence he was content. Then misfortune came upon him. Being unable to pay off the mortgage on the theater, he lost it to his creditors. He began putting on flesh, and soon he was so heavy of body and mind that he disliked making the exertion necessary to propel himself across Canon Perdido Street. In the end, 1892, he became so depressed and discouraged, that, one day, sending his wife to make a call on a friend, he shot and killed himself. The theater that he had built, however, still retained his name after a half century of use, though now completely surrounded by "Chinatown"; and the new building that has risen on the site of the old one today is known as "Lobero Theater". Happily, at this time, February 10th, 1962, a stone suitably inscribed, is about to be placed on his hitherto neglected grave.

In addition to a newspaper, wooden houses, and surveyed streets, there were other signs of modernization to be noted by the observant eye. In 1866, both the Congregational and the Episcopalian Churches held services in Santa Barbara; and, the next year, both sects formally organized their adherents into congregations. In 1868, a wharf was built from the shore into the ocean to deep water. This was an event of great importance to the community for, henceforth, not only visitors, but freight as well, could be landed without the necessity of passing through the surf. In 1869, the Presbyterians

established themselves in an adobe building not far from the present day Court House. The next year, a gas company was formed; and, three years later, a bank, under the auspices of Mortimer Cook, opened its doors for business.

In 1872, the Channel Area was divided at Rincon Creek into two roughly equal parts, Santa Barbara County on the West and Ventura County on the East. In 1875, the large Arlington Hotel was built on the block bounded by State, Victoria, Chapala, and Sola Streets.

When the first Chinese came to Santa Barbara to usher in here the "Chinese Period" is not conclusively known; but the Chinese influence had been strong here, and throughout the Province, from the time the first merchant ships came to the California Coast, for they carried in their holds quantities of highly valued merchandise secured in Canton and other Chinese ports.

The first authenticated record of the arrival of Chinamen in California is that of two men and a woman who arrived in San Francisco in 1848. From this time on, their number increased slowly yet steadily in the Bay Area; and it is reasonable to suppose that some of these newly arrived Celestials found their way to Santa Barbara at a relatively early date. (Professor Brewer mentioned Chinamen at the service he attended at the Old Mission in 1861).

When the San Marcos Pass road was built by the Supervisors, Chinese laborers were employed. Their camp on the Santa Ynez River still is known as "China Camp".

Somewhat later, because there was no adequate supply of dependable labor in the new State to build the western portion of the transcontinental railroad, large numbers of laborers from China were brought to California to do this important job. In this way and in a short time, the number of Orientals within our borders was greatly increased.

Because the Chinese immigrants were so different from the men already resident in the State in customs and language and religion, and because they scrupulously lived apart in whatever community they found themselves, they were regarded universally as aliens and, by the irresponsible elements of the population, they often were treated unkindly. Sometimes, real cruelties were inflicted upon them. It was widely said in ridicule and even anger that the State was being ruined by Chinese cheap labor, but this slander was not supported by the facts.³¹ They were an intelligent, hard-working, and dependable people. They were more cleanly in their persons than were their detractors. It is all but certain that, without them, the railroads would not have been built until some other supply of equally dependable laborers had been secured from some other source.³²

In Santa Barbara, while there were two or three or four highly respected merchants with stores on State Street, the great bulk of the Chinese here served the community as cooks and house boys, vegetable growers and vendors, and laundrymen. "Chinatown" was located on Canon Perdido Street between State and Anacapa. To this "town" every Chinaman in the community repaired every night when his work was finished. It was one of the common sights of the Town to see these queued men, in their native, black costumes, singly or in twos or trios, walking down State Street, the one of the highest standing in the lead and the others following behind, and all

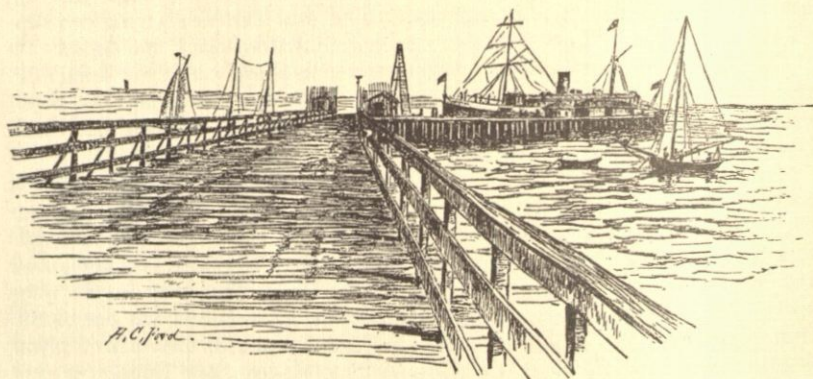
Chinese

talking in shrill voices and in outlandish, sing-song syllables as they walked. Among bankers, they were held in especially high esteem because it was commonly believed that every penny that was loaned to them would be paid back with scrupulous honesty; and also because the going rate of interest on their loans was 10 per cent.³³

Each "New Years", which was a three day celebration with the Chinese that fell immediately after the middle of February, there was a tremendous, open-house celebration in Chinatown. Strings of fire-crackers 20 and 25 feet long were suspended from the crossbars of the telephone and electric light poles and, when ignited at the bottom, crackled and banged furiously through most of the first day. A band, composed for the most part of players of curiously shaped instruments and very large cymbals, noisily played tunes that were not understandable to the curious townspeople who crowded into the house to hear the strange music and to see the equally strange instruments.

During this celebration, so important to the Chinese, it was the pleasant custom of the cooks and houseboys to make gifts to their employers of boxes of leche nuts or dishes of Chinese lilies in full bloom or ginger root immersed in thick syrup in curiously shaped and wrapped clay pots.

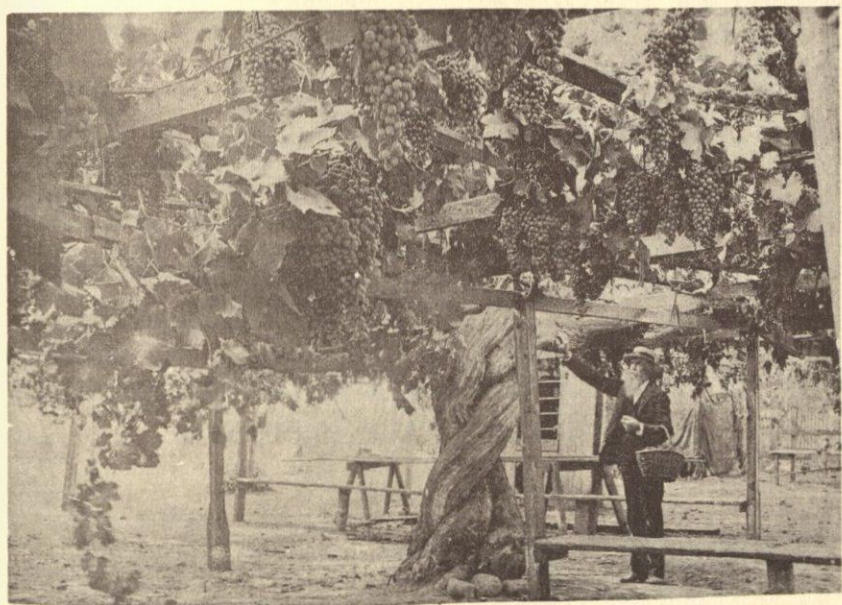
In the 1880s and 1890s, when the Chinese population was at its height, these New Year Celebrations were notable occasions for the townspeople and as such were much enjoyed by them; but, after those decades, as the number of Chinese diminished slowly yet steadily, they became less and less colorful and noisy. Not long after the turn of the century, with the discarding of the queues and the picturesque, native clothing, they were given up completely.



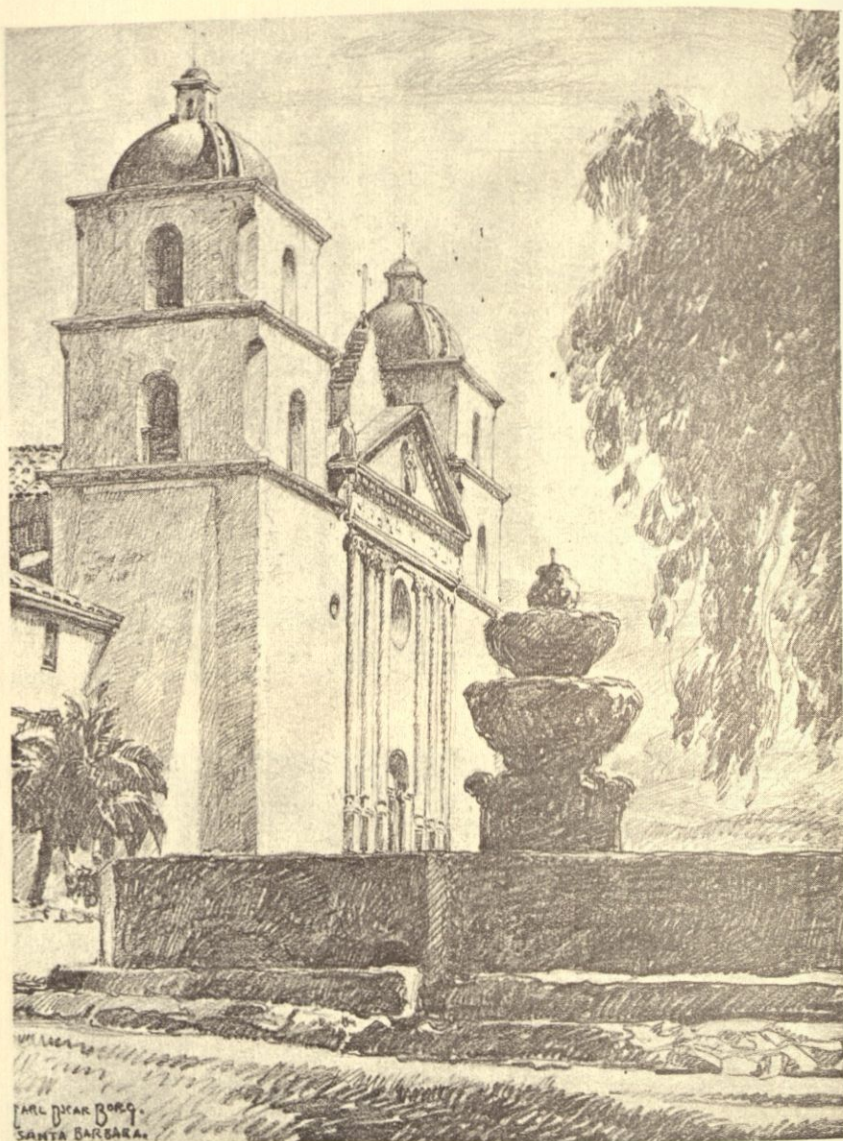
The wharf.



Hobo Rock, San Marcos Pass.



The Big Grapevine, Carpinteria.



Facade of Mission as it was before the earthquake of 1925.

CHAPTER EIGHT

On August 17th, 1887, the first railroad train entered Santa Barbara. This was an event of such far reaching importance to the community that it was equalled by few others that had occurred before this time or, up to the present—February, 1962—have occurred since; and it was celebrated with enthusiastic appropriateness. The Army Band from the Presidio at the Golden Gate led the parade that marched up State Street to the Arlington Hotel, and, on Burton Mound, many thousands of townspeople and visitors gathered for speeches and a picnic lunch. This new railroad made Santa Barbara reasonably accessible to all who wished to come here; and, from this moment onward, the community grew with ever increasing rapidity, though at anything but a steady pace.

This first, broad-gauge railroad, which started at the little way station of Saugus on the Inland Route between Los Angeles and San Francisco, ran its sinuous way through Santa Paula to the Channel at San Buenaventura and thence on to Santa Barbara. Work on the right of way was being continued westward beyond the Town as far as "Ellwood"; but, to all intents and purposes, Santa Barbara was the terminus of the Branch Line, which crossed State Street on Montecito Street. The "depot" was on the vacant corner of Chapala and Montecito Streets. During the first years of its operation, because of the long and tedious lay-over at Saugus, the run from Los Angeles to Santa Barbara might consume as much as 10 hours of time.

As Santa Barbara, as well as all the rest of California, was in the midst of a tremendous land boom at this time, our people had the greatest expectations for, almost the certainty of, the immediate, phenomenal growth of the City. Real estate values soared to extraordinary heights. The city limits ran at right angles across State Street at Mission Street, confining the town narrowly; yet less than one half the available lots were built on. The foothills behind the town were almost wholly devoid of trees and of human habitations. Even so, lots were surveyed, stone retaining walls were built, and concrete sidewalks were laid in outlying districts that still were given over to wild oats, to old man sage, and, in the early spring, to buttercups and brodiaea.

Before the Branch Line that was building westward from Saugus could be connected with the so-called Coast Route that was being pushed southward from San Francisco and that, at this time, had reached the little community of Santa Margarita, however, the bubble that had been the land boom burst with dismaying suddenness. All construction work on the railroads stopped abruptly and the inflated business structure of Santa Barbara tumbled down in ruins. For a while after this seeming cataclysm, men considered themselves lucky when they could find work that paid for their board. Many men, for want of better places, slept in the hay in the lofts of barns and livery stables.

By the time of the Boom, thanks to Charles Nordoff and many other visitors who had come here and had found the place to be wholly charming, the fame of Santa Barbara had become nationwide and, to some degree, even world wide. Famous personages were being attracted here for brief or ex-

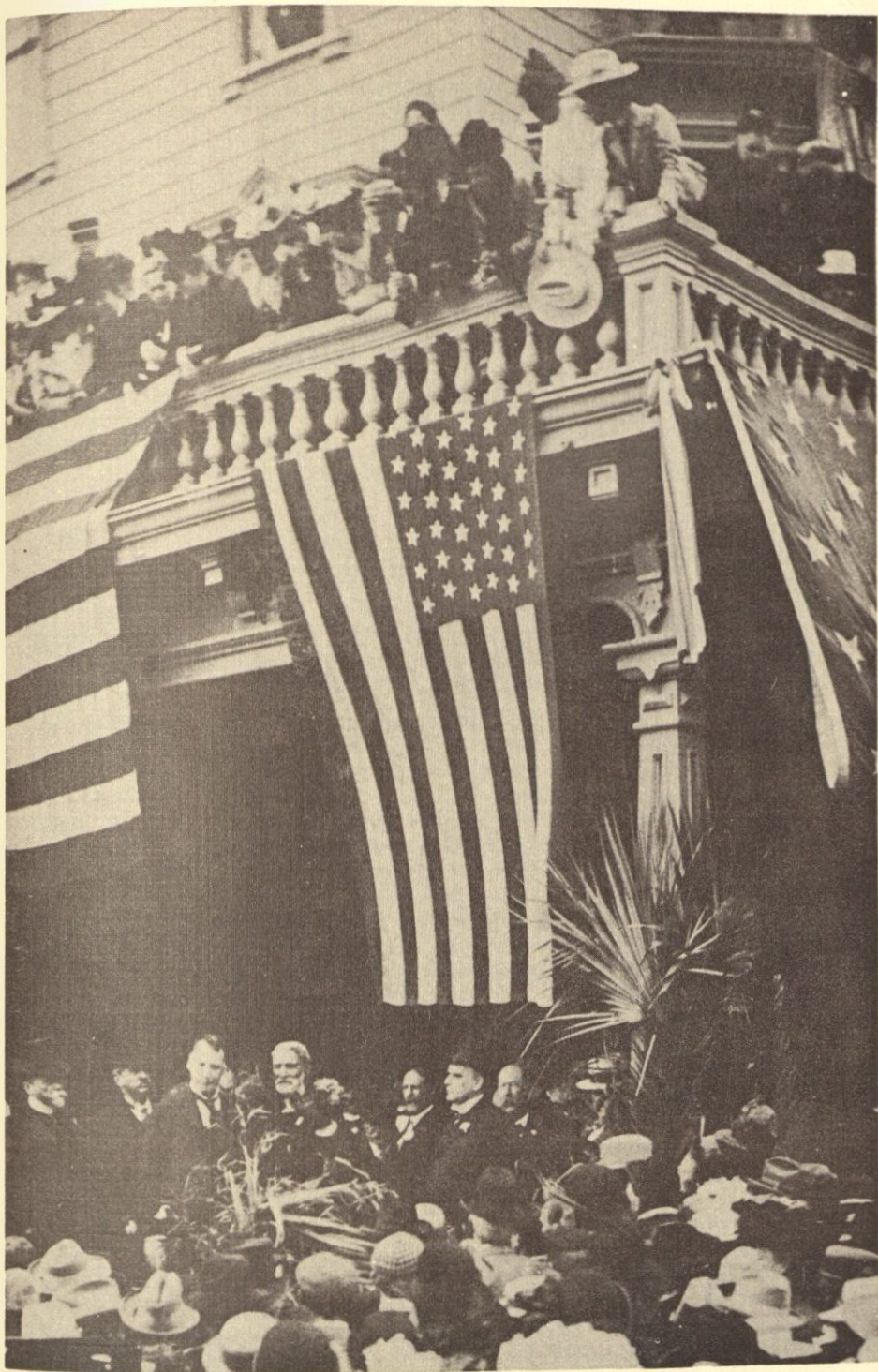
tended visits, as the case might be. In 1882, before the Branch Line had been built, the daughter of Queen Victoria, Princess Louise, and her husband, the Duke of Argyll, at the time the Governor-General of Canada, made the trip to Santa Barbara and, thanks to the wharf, were able to land dry shod. A visit by such a distinguished couple was of transcendent importance to the fewer than five thousand men, women, and children who composed the residents of the community at that time. It was entered upon the calendar of men's minds as "The First Visit of Royalty", and it remains so to this day.

Four years after the Branch Line came to Santa Barbara, in 1891, President Benjamin Harrison came here by train. Because he was the first president to visit the Area, and also because his visit followed relatively soon after that of the Princess and the Duke, a tremendous reception was planned for him. Floral arches were built across State Street at several of the intersections. Carriages were decorated for the occasion in flowers of many kinds. A great mass of organized marchers and riders, headed by the local band, escorted the President up the Street in a parade that marched under the imposing title of "The Battle of the Flowers". At its conclusion, quite naturally, this episode was entered in men's minds as "The First Visit of a President" and the most imposing welcome that the City had given to a visitor. It became the pattern, or standard, for all other, similar celebrations for the next quarter of a century.

While these great events were taking place, other men, much less famous, perhaps, but certainly of much greater permanent importance to the community, had come quietly and without fanfare to Santa Barbara and had taken up their residence here. One of these men, Joseph Sexton, a horticulturalist of considerable prominence, brought to his small ranch in the Goleta Valley many plants, both useful and ornamental, that hitherto had been unknown here. As one of his many botanic experiments, he raised pampas grass plumes commercially; and, for a while, he was able to sell these highly inflammable and, when dyed, gaudy decorations for as much as \$25.00 a 100.

Ellwood Cooper, another well known gardener and importer, who lived on his ranch some 12 miles west of the City, introduced into the Area from Australia many varieties of eucalyptus trees. Some species of these drought-resisting plants found the Area to be so favorable a habitat that they thrived amazingly and grew with straight trunks to extraordinary size and height. Soon they were seen growing not only singly in gardens and in long lines bordering the roads, but also in clumps and groves on the dry and, up to this time, treeless foothills. Presently, so fast did these trees grow, companies were formed with the purpose of planting extensive forests of them. It was the confident hope of the promoters that these forests in but a short time would yield pulp wood in profitable quantities from otherwise worthless land.

On the ranches, great quantities of grains—wheat, barley, and oats, for the most part—were being raised; and, on the rich bottom land where water was available either from creeks or from subsoil supplies, extensive orchards of soft-shelled walnuts and of lemons were planted. Cattle, sheep and hogs still were raised in large numbers, the sheep especially on the Channel Islands; but these herds no longer were the sole commercial product of the ranches. At a somewhat later date, lima beans were cultivated extensively and profitably in fields near the ocean, where the fogs tempered the otherwise dry late spring climate of the region.



President McKinley at the Arlington Hotel.

Both because large numbers of Italians had come to California and were much in evidence as workmen in the vineyards and gardens, and because many Americans, after touring the Continent, came to the Channel Area as visitors and saw here striking resemblances to scenes they had admired in Southern France and Italy, Italian place names began to supercede the old Spanish-Mexican ones that had been so definite a part of the region. "Dos Pueblos" became "Naples", for example; and, a little later, the area behind the City that had been called simply "the Foothills" became "The Riviera". To the southeast of us, "Venice" appeared on the new maps. Mr. Gillespie, building his residence in upper Montecito, made it as nearly Italian as lay within the skill of his architect and his landscape gardener. The residence on the beach that had been "Booth's Point" became "Bellos Gardos". So much did this trend become the vogue that this time may well be designated as the "Italian Period".³⁴

The short Spanish-American War had little effect on Santa Barbara. To be sure, a small contingent volunteered for military service; and one young man, a member of a very well known family, Stanley Hollister, whom Roosevelt termed a very gallant soldier, joined the Rough Riders and, after being severely wounded in Cuba, died in a hospital. A "home guard" was formed and these men drilled regularly. A new designation for the national flag, "Old Glory", had wide currency. The war was too remote, however, and it was of too short duration to effect permanently the life of the community on the Channel. At its close, Santa Barbara was very much the same city that it had been a year earlier.

In 1901, on a survey that did not include large sections of the right-of-way of the Branch Line, the Southern Pacific Railroad completed its "Coast Route" between Los Angeles and San Francisco and, for the first time, Santa Barbara had direct connections with both the northern and the southern communities. The effect of these improved transportation facilities was very great. More visitors now came to the Channel Area and these, as the years passed, tended to stay here for shorter and shorter periods. (Earlier, when travel had been by steamer and stagecoach, visitors usually remained here for periods of two or three or four months. In the end, after renting houses for the winter for several years in succession, a considerable number of these people from the Midwest and the East, became so attached to the community that they bought land, built substantial houses, and settled here permanently.) Presently, another change became apparent: in the early days, Santa Barbara was known as a winter resort. As travel became less and less difficult, Santa Barbara's reputation as a summer resort became greater and more wide spread. And so the community grew in population steadily and relatively rapidly and, before many years had passed, its needs for water surpassed its supplies of this all important fluid.

In 1901, also, President William McKinley, with Secretary of State John Hay and several other members of his Administration, paid Santa Barbara a brief visit. Again, as had been the case when President Harrison came here, the community gave the President a tremendous welcome. In a coach drawn by four white horses and completely covered with white rose buds washed with pink he was taken from the railroad depot on West Victoria Street to the Arlington Hotel, where he was introduced to the assembled populace by Mr. Charles Storke. (This was the period when Santa Barbara's reputation



Santa Barbarans gather to view the presidential parade.

as a city of flowers, especially of roses, was spreading widely and was attracting to the community many persons of wealth and refined tastes.) He also was taken to the Old Mission and was shown through it by the Franciscan Padres. Standing in the center of the large reception room of the Hotel, he shook hands with each of the Santa Barbarans who formed the long line that filed through the room. It was a notable, if ephemeral, occasion, the more so because, only a few months later, these same Santa Barbarans were shocked by the announcement that, in the City of Buffalo, President McKinley had been fatally shot by an assassin while performing this same, hand-shaking ceremony.

Two years after the McKinley visit, President Theodore Roosevelt came here; and again, though to a somewhat less degree, the community united to welcome him. An unusual feature of this particular episode was a company of newly organized Forest Rangers that escorted the Cowboy President from the tiny railroad depot in Montecito along the county roads and into the City, and thence to the Old Mission.

On the return trip from the Old Mission to the railroad station on West Victoria Street, one of those small, unplanned incidents that, when they occurred, showed so clearly one of the pleasantest phases of the character of this many sided American, happened when the carriages with their large, mounted escort turned from Laguna on to Pedregosa Street. At this place, Mr. Thomas D. Wood, who was riding in the presidential carriage, pointed

out the Hale residence and said that Mrs. Hollister, the mother of Stanley, lived there. Hearing this, President Roosevelt abruptly stopped the whole cavalcade and, descending from his carriage, went into the house to pay his respects to the mother of the former soldier of his regiment.

This stop necessarily delayed the party and upset the time schedule that had been worked out with meticulous care. When Mr. Roosevelt arrived back in his carriage, therefore, the whole party set off at a run for the railroad station, the Rangers racing ahead of the carriages to hold the inter-sections until the President had passed.³⁵

During this year, 1903, also, along with the visit of President Roosevelt, the first automobiles appeared on State Street and, besides causing many runaways, introduced many new words in the local vocabulary. When a former livery stable on lower Anacapa Street hung "Garage" in large letters over its door, very few indeed of the townspeople understood what was meant by the strange word, few but the "chauffeurs" knew how it should be pronounced. And so was ushered in the era of the automobile, an era that was to change and transform pastoral Santa Barbara to the modern city that it now is.

In 1902, between the visits of the two Presidents, the Potter Hotel was built. It faced the beach on Burton Mound and it cost one and one-half million dollars. This immense structure almost immediately became one of the most fashionable resort hotels in all of California, and it added much to Santa Barbara's continually growing reputation as the garden spot of the West.

During the Hotel's first days, sulphur water from the spring on the Mound, which for years had been used by the townspeople for medicinal baths, was piped into the main lobby, just as had been done in the famous hotel at Shasta Springs. In a very short time, however, the entire hotel to the topmost floor was permeated by the strong and unpleasant odor of sulphur; and so this phase of the Hotel's service, which, it had been hoped, would prove a great attraction to tourists, had to be discontinued.

In the spring of 1908, the 16 battleships of the Great White Fleet, on their voyage around the world, stopped for three days at Santa Barbara. As the crew complement of each of these ships was about 1,000 men, the sailors of this Fleet outnumbered the townspeople by the ratio of two to one. It was a hectic time for the Santa Barbarans.

The two dozen licensed saloons of the City were closed for the period of the Visit, but the restaurants and the blind pigs and the other houses of entertainment did a much more than capacity business. Every vacant lot on State Street between the Beach and the Arlington Hotel, and there were many of these vacant lots, held a bunting bedecked booth of some kind, which had been erected and opened for business for the stay of the Fleet by out-of-town entrepreneurs. Balls, dances, and parties of almost every other kind were given for the entertainment of the visitors. The Young Men's Christian Association filled its gymnasium with cots for the use of those enlisted men, with night-shore-leave, who had no other place in which to sleep.

Most unhappily, the admiral in command of the Fleet, Rodney Evans, had become so ill that, when his flagship arrived here, he was brought ashore on a stretcher and taken to the Potter Hotel. From the Hotel, he was carried by train to the famous sanatorium at Paso Robles for medical treatment. And so it happened that, at the conclusion of the Visit, when the great Fleet steamed off up the Channel, it went under a new commander.

For years before and after this visit of the Fleet, Santa Barbarans were accustomed to seeing ships of war lying at anchor in the harbor because the Channel had been designated as a testing ground by the Navy. Markers, three to the series, had been set up on the shore at carefully measured distances, in theory not unlike the testing markers at mile intervals that are seen occasionally on our through highways; and it was here that speed and other tests were made. So often did destroyers and cruisers and other navy craft come here that it had become the custom of the Santa Barbara Club to open its doors to the officers of the visiting ships, and of citizens generally to accept the sight of naval uniforms on the streets as of common occurrence.

In the summer of 1909, the Arlington Hotel caught fire and very quickly burned to the ground. This conflagration, when linked with the coming of the automobiles and the erection of the Potter Hotel, marks the end of the Early American Period in Santa Barbara and the beginning of the new and enlarged community. The old, bucolic days of dirt streets and "mañana" tempo were gone forever.

By this time, the greatest need felt in the City was that for a new and much larger supply of household water; for the population had grown beyond the old and narrowly limited supply. The De la Guerra Wells still were being pumped, but these, even when combined with water from other sources, did not meet the ever increasing need. This was especially true during long and dry autumns.

Happily, there were resident in the community a group of men of wide horizons, who were widely experienced in civic and industrial affairs; and these men, considering the urgent need for new sources of water, developed the plan of building a high dam in the upper Santa Ynez Valley and of impounding behind this structure the flood waters that now were running unused to the sea. The waters thus impounded were to be brought to Santa Barbara through a long tunnel that was to be cut through the mountain wall immediately behind the City.

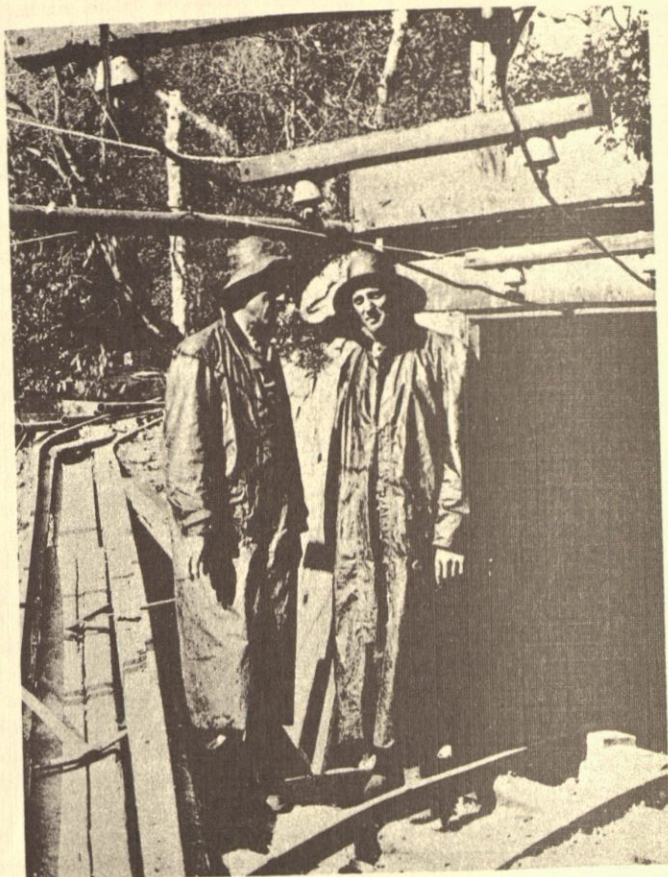
To implement this far-reaching plan, a Water Commission was appointed and bonds were voted by the townspeople. This done, a young engineer, Lee Hyde, was employed to direct the undertaking. When this project was completed, the City had an abundant supply of good water. With it every need was met and a considerable profit in dollars was reported at the end of each year. Most unhappily, Engineer Hyde died at the successful conclusion of the work on the tunnel and before the dam was completed; and so he did not see his carefully drawn plans crowned with complete success.

This "Gibraltar" development became the model for the subsequent digging of the Montecito Tunnel and the building of the Juncal Dam, and, at a still later date, of the whole Cachuma Project; though in this later effort, the Reclamation Service of the United States Government was called in to supervise the work.

Santa Barbara responded with the greatest enthusiasm to the entry of the United States, as a combatant, into the First Phase of the World War. In the different drives for funds, that were an important part of this period, the City's quotas quickly were subscribed and over subscribed. When the local Naval Militia Unit was called into the Federal service, a Constabulary was formed that numbered some 550 men. These men ranged in age from callow high school sophomores to white-haired, greatly respected Judge Canfield.

problem of the

unit



Lee Hyde at South Portal.

As contingent after contingent of young men were called to the colors, each cadre, when it departed, was escorted to the railroad station by the Catholic Boys' Band, the Constabulary, and many townspeople. At the close of the fighting, an olive tree was planted in the area about the reservoir and the old ruins to the north of the Old Mission,³⁶ in memory of each local soldier who had been killed overseas.

After the signing of the Armistice and during the controversy over the entry of the United States into the League of Nations, Albert, King of the Belgians, with a considerable entourage that included the Queen and the young Prince, came to Santa Barbara. They were housed in two of the large residences of Montecito. Because Albert was widely held to be the most heroic figure of the War, he was met at the railroad station by a great crowd of enthusiastic people who wished not only to see him but also to express to him their admiration for the heroic stand Belgium had made against the

German onrush. This episode might fairly be considered as the last of those welcomes to famous visitors in which the whole community participated.

There was no formal, official reception for the royal party. Being a Rotarian, Albert attended the weekly meeting of that organization and spoke briefly. At a small public ceremony, he planted a tree in the park near the center of the City. He rode every day on one of Mr. Billings' famous horses. Other than on these occasions, Albert remained quietly at his residence and was seen but seldom by the townspeople. At the conclusion of his visit, he presented medals to Sheriff James Ross, for whom he seems to have formed a high regard, and to the owners of the houses in which he and his party stayed. After his departure by train to San Francisco, the thoroughfare that runs across the foothills toward Montecito was renamed "King Albert Boulevard". This new name, however, never received general acceptance, and it soon reverted to "Alameda Padre Serra."³⁷

During the war period, when travel was stringently curtailed, the Potter Hotel suffered greatly from a loss in patronage. In 1921, after it had been sold to a new syndicate and renamed "The Ambassador", it took fire and, in an even shorter time than had its predecessor, the Arlington Hotel, was reduced to ashes and charred timbers. The violent north wind that was blowing at the time, carried the embers out into the Channel just as, during the forest fire in Alfred Robinson's time, a similar wind had done with those embers and burning brands.

In the late spring of 1925, the Channel Area was visited by the severest earthquakes that had been felt here since those of 1812 and 1814. The business portion of the City, lying as it did on "filled" land, was so heavily shaken that much of it was laid in ruins. Sheffield Dam was breached and the water impounded behind it was released in a flood down Sycamore Canyon. All the masonry of the community, such as chimneys and adobe and brick walls, and even those of reenforced concrete, was either badly cracked or completely shattered. Terra cotta plumbing that was a quarter of a century old, or older, was made unusable. Large buildings such as the Old Mission, the New Arlington Hotel, the Potter Theater, and the handsome, new San Marcos Building were in large part, or wholly, destroyed. Other buildings, while left standing outwardly intact, suffered such serious internal damage that extensive repairs were required before they again could be used.

Wooden structures, in some cases, were moved from their foundations; but, for the most part, these buildings suffered only the loss of their chimneys and extensive cracks in their plaster. By the greatest good fortune, only seven lives were lost. This very light casualty list was attributed to the fact that the quakes struck so early in the morning, about six o'clock, before the townspeople were out in numbers on State Street. Had it occurred a few hours later in the day, the death list, probably, would have been very heavy indeed.

The first slip, which was of very moderate intensity, occurred on an old fault line in the ocean just a little ways off shore. Though light in itself, this first shock was heavy enough to trigger much heavier ones in the fault that runs across the foothills immediately behind the City. It was these second shocks, two of them at a five minute interval, that did the great damage within the City. Coming as they did from the north, their thrust was toward the south. Walls that lay at right angles to their path, that is, east and



west, suffered greatly; while those that were oriented in a northern-southern direction suffered less.

Many citizens, especially those men who had been members of the armed forces during the War and who now were active members of the local chapter of the American Legion, were sworn in as special officers; and, for a day or two, these men patrolled the business district. Then, a cadre of policemen from Los Angeles came to relieve the special officers. These, in their turn, soon were superseded by a battalion of Marines, who made their camp on the athletic field of Peabody Stadium. To these disciplined men the City came to owe much, especially when a fire, fanned by a high north wind, started on the summit of the Riviera one night about 11 o'clock. Had it not been for the courage of the young Marines, who succeeded, almost miraculously, in beating out the flames with their blouses and shirts, much of the City must have been consumed.

Minor shocks continued to torment the fearful among the townspeople for many weeks after the first, major ones had come and gone; but, even so it was only a very short time after the rubble had been partially cleaned from the streets and sidewalks that the work of permanent reconstruction began.

Under the leadership of Mr. Bernhard Hoffman, and other similarly minded men and women, the plan was developed to regard the destruction, as much as might be, as an opportunity for the reconstruction of the community

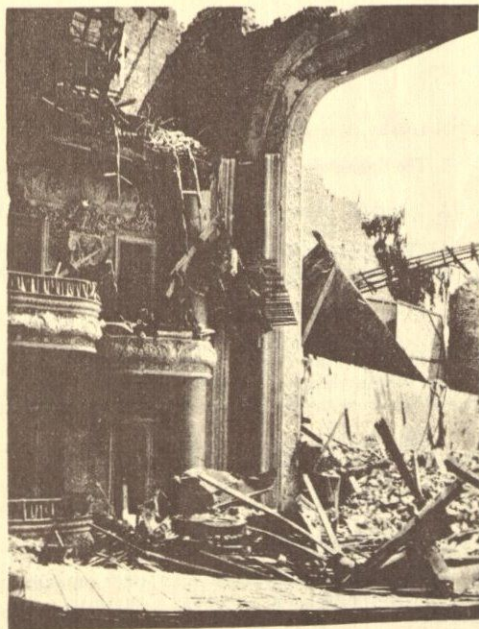
according to a single, carefully considered master plan, one that would recognize to the full the beauty and the appropriateness for Santa Barbara of the Spanish type of architecture.

Under this plan, owners of buildings that faced on State Street were urged to use arches and tile roofs when they rebuilt their building fronts. "Street" was changed to "Calle", and, by order of the City Council, "State Street" became "Calle Estado", an innovation that made for difficulty where visitors, especially visitors from the East, were concerned.

This plan met with considerable support, some of it enthusiastic and some of it reluctant, in the days immediately after it was put forth. Then, it fell into disfavor. Eventually, as far as the outward appearance of the new buildings was concerned, it was completely disregarded. Under the surface, however, a great and permanent step forward was made by it in the way the new buildings were constructed and in the security they offered not only in case of earthquake but also in case of fire.

While the community still was trying to pull itself together after the earthquake, Major Max Fleischmann, a man of great wealth and with a deep interest in sailing and yachting, offered to the City Council the sum of \$200,000 to be used for the construction of a harbor. With the offer of the gift went the stipulation that the City would raise a like amount for the same purpose. In the spring of the next year, a bond issue of this amount was overwhelmingly voted by the citizens. In this way, and at long last, the City of Santa Barbara became possessed of a safe harbor for small craft (See photograph, following pages).

View of the old
Potter Theater, with
demolition just under
way.





REFERENCES

1. Locally, this growth is known as *Chaparral*.
2. The Spaniards called these villages "*rancherias*."
3. "Cabrillo" seems to have been a nickname. Literally, it means "Little Goat."
4. The Spaniards spoke of the "Channel" as the "canal." The present "Olive Street" in Santa Barbara formerly bore the name of "Canal Street."
5. A "vara" is a Spanish yard or stride, about 33 inches.
6. This was Fray Cambon who had brought to Serra considerable shipment of goods on the Manila Galleon, from the Church at Manila, and who now was recuperating at San Diego from the ill effects of this long and hazardous journey.
7. This was the largest guard left at any mission up to this time. Very soon, it was increased by 10 men by order of Senor Fages.
8. A Spanish league is about three English miles.
9. An arbor or booth made of branches.
10. Lime for this mortar, and for other purposes, was obtained from pits dug in what is now Hope Ranch Park, where a stratum of lime stone lies near the surface of the ground.



11. Fray Junipero Serra did not feel these wells were adequate for the needs of the Presidio, and so he did not approve wholly of this place as a site for the important community that, some day, inevitably would be here.

12. This area was known as "Pedregoso"—This is, "rocky" or "stony." For gardens, it was not a very favorable place.

13. For more details, see Engelhardt's "Santa Barbara Mission."

14. While the south slopes of the Coast Ranges are covered with grasses and chaparral only, the north slopes, where there is less evaporation, are timbered, lightly on the First Range and more heavily on the Second.

15. Honolulu was the center, or port of deposit of the Pacific Trade.

16. Because of the scarcity of money—gold and silver coins—business largely was carried on by barter in the early days of the Province.

17. For a fuller account of the activities of these mountain men see De Voto's "Beyond the Wide Missouri."

18. In exactly the same way, John Paul Jones was held to be a pirate by the English during the American Revolution, though, to Americans, he was a patriot and a great hero.

19. It is likely that this estimate of Bouchard's strength is a considerable exaggeration.

20. He did not command a force of sufficient strength to face Bouchard's men in battle, nor was the Presidio in good enough repair to withstand a siege by heavily armed men.

21. A "Royal Pueblo" was one established at the King's order and at a place remote from both mission and presidio. Los Angeles and San Jose were such royal pueblos.

22. Sola, Arguello, Echeandia, Victoria, Pico (twice), Figueroa, Castro, Chico, Gutierrez (twice), Alvarado, and Micheltorena.

23. The "Pious Fund" was a considerable amount of money that had been subscribed by wealthy laymen for the benefit of the missions. It was administered by the state.

24. In his Memoirs, Fremont describes the garden at Dos Pueblos Rancho and his thoughts as he stood on the bluff above the beach, at the mouth of the canyon, and gazed at the waves that rushed in on the shore.

25. See Gen. Wm. T. Sherman's autobiography for the details of this interest in quicksilver.

26. Three-quarters of a century later, residents on this street became so disturbed by this name that they changed it to "Olive."

27. Horse stages, such as the one that at a later date, crossed the Santa Ynez Range by way of San Marcos Pass, largely were "local" rather than "through" in their character.

28. For the most part, these men of vicious tendencies were newcomers, or they were Californios who had been incited to lawlessness by the intemperate behavior of some of the newcomers.

29. The Lands Commission had declared their titles to be faulty and, therefore, their lands became a part of the public domain.

30. For full details of these observations, see "Up and Down California" by Brewer.

31. In 1910, a Chinese cook in a private family, for example, could command a monthly salary of \$75.00, while an American woman, in the kitchen, was paid only two thirds of this wage.

32. A similar situation was met with in Panama when the Canal was being built. There, laborers were recruited in southern and western Europe.

33. Mr. Storke, in his book "California Editor" states that, should a Chinaman be so unfortunate as to be unable to pay his debts, he would take his own life.

34. See Ernest Piexotto's "Romantic California."

35. See the August, 1958 issue of *Noticias* for a detailed account of this stirring incident.

36. Memory within a democracy is short lived. After a very few years, these trees were so neglected that most of them died. Today, this is an episode in our history that is almost completely forgotten.

37. See the second volume of Herbert Hoover's autobiography for details of this episode.





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